

Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

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CONTENTS.

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS:		
The University Tests Bill in Committee ..	557	
Ecclesiastical Notes ..	557	
The Education Bill ..	558	
The Irish Education Commissioners' Report ..	560	
Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen on Hindoo Theism ..	561	
Mill-hill School ..	561	
The Roman Council ..	561	
Religious and Denominational News ..	562	
CORRESPONDENCE:		
The Game Laws ..	562	
The Bristol Election Petition and the Ballot ..	563	
The Education Bill and the Religious Difficulty ..	563	
Parliamentary Intelligences ..	563	
The Government Education Bill ..		566
The Times Commissioner on the Irish Land Bill ..		567
Postscript ..		567
LEADING ARTICLES:		
Summary ..		568
The Supplemental Church Establishment ..		568
Charles Dickens ..		569
The Lords and the Irish Land Bill ..		569
Schools of Hope ..		570
Foreign and Colonial ..		571
Foreign Miscellany ..		571
Death of Mr. Charles Dickens ..		572
LITERATURE:		
Wilkes and Cobbett ..		573
Beecher's Sermons ..		573
Brief Notices ..		574
Court, Official, and Personal News ..		575
Election Intelligence ..		576

Ecclesiastical Affairs.

THE UNIVERSITY TESTS BILL IN COMMITTEE.

THE Bill of the Government for the Abolition of Religious Tests in the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham, and in the several Colleges incorporated therewith, passed through Committee on Monday afternoon. The Conservative side of the House of Commons, as if satisfied that all had been done which could be done by the strictest fidelity to their professions to modify the measure in their own sense, silently watched the process. Once or twice, we believe, some member on the left hand side of the chair, not cognisant of the general understanding of the party, or not intimate enough with its decisions to feel bound by them, ventured upon some criticism of the details of the Bill. The exceptions, however, served but to illustrate the rule. The party, as a party, was (it is imagined, by concert) quite inactive, and hence no danger threatened the measure but that to which it was exposed by its avowed friends, one or two of whose amendments we will speak to presently.

Meanwhile, a word or two, in season we hope, respecting the cause and nature of such differences of opinion as became visible on the Liberal side of the House. In carrying to ultimate legislative triumph any great principle, more especially if it be a principle which touches deep prejudices, and which is stoutly resisted, those persons who have initiated a movement for that purpose, and who have for several years steadily supported it, will necessarily shape their proceedings with a view to lessen the difficulties in their way, to obviate the force of objections, and so obtain the best position possible for the enterprise which they have in hand. This has been the case with regard to the University Tests Abolition Bill. It is easy enough to point out the shortcomings of the measure. Nobody, that we are aware of, ever pretended that the Bill was to be a final measure of University Reform. It undertakes to deal with only one branch of the question, namely, the removal of religious tests considered as a condition of obtaining academical honours or advantages. The Bill, or rather the movement which the Bill now represents, originated, not with any of the Nonconformist bodies, but with a Liberal section of Oxford graduates, and that section opened a communication with the Nonconformists, in reference to this preliminary

portion of academical reform, through the medium of two or three individuals. The two wings of the aggressive force thus brought into relation, have ever since that time advanced to their object in parallel lines. But the initiative was, from the first, cheerfully conceded to the Oxford graduates who, with a view to the interests of sound learning in their University, had taken the first practical step towards the Abolition of Tests. The first Bill related to Oxford exclusively, and Mr. Dodson, now Chairman of Committees, consented to take charge of it. Many independent members of the present day would look back upon that measure as one expressing in an extremely timid and precautionary manner the principle for which University reformers were contending. It passed from the hands of Mr. Dodson to those of Mr. Goschen, and from Mr. Goschen's to Sir John Duke Coleridge's, expanding in scope, and becoming bolder in its provisions, as each succeeding Session indicated more clearly the views and determination of the country. Thus it had come to pass, previously to the commencement of the present Session, that the measure claimed by University Reformers was not a perfect logical expression of their wishes, but the practical result of a series of experiments upon the liberality, in this direction, of the Commons House of Parliament. The restrictions and limitations to be found in the Bill are the residue of those which had been admitted into it reluctantly, but as a matter of tactical necessity, by the gentlemen who throughout had had the conduct of the movement. When they deemed it of the highest importance to lift their measure into the position of a Government Bill, they naturally, and, as we think, not unwisely, accepted some conditions imposed upon them by the Government, as most likely to conduce to the success: they were hoping to realise; and, such conditions as they deemed it necessary to acquiesce in, those Nonconformists who were acting with them deemed it best to accede to, and, of course, loyally to observe.

It must be borne in mind that there were three parties in negotiation, towards the close of last year, as to the general outlines of the measure which all three could unite in urging upon the House of Commons—the University Reformers, the Nonconformists, and the Government. Of course, the conclusions at which they arrived could be binding technically only upon those who had previously concurred in them, and upon whose concurrence joint action was dependent. Every party has its "free lances," and it is open to any such to object to limitations, and nullify, if they can, restrictions assented to by the chief agents of a movement in the hope of a speedier and larger success. It was not to be supposed that they could be bound by negotiations in which they had taken no part, and it is not to be complained of that they should dissent, in reference to certain details, from the issue of those negotiations. The difference, however, must not be magnified beyond its true proportions. It was chiefly a difference in tactics, and one, moreover, relating to a matter or two of pure detail.

For example, the Bill excepted from its provisions the degree of Doctor of Divinity. This exception had been assented to by Nonconformists from the very beginning, not, we think, without substantial reason. Into that question,

however, we cannot enter just now with sufficient leisure and space at our command to do it justice. All those materials of knowledge which enter into and constitute a prerequisite for a sound judgment of Divine things, can, undoubtedly, be recognised by duly authorised examiners, and certificated by a University degree. But "Divinity" comprehends, in the primary notion of it, the result of the application of such knowledge to things relating to God, and not merely a possession of the instruments by which that result had been brought about. By all means, if you will authenticate, under national authority, a man's mastery of the Hebrew tongue, of Biblical criticism, of Oriental information, of patristic learning; but the degree of Doctor of Divinity is understood to include more than this, and to comprise within it that appreciative acquaintance with the Doctrinal Articles of Christianity, which involves the joint exercise of spiritual and intellectual faculties. We do not believe in the propriety of stamping the foregone result of this double exercise with the approbation of the State. We regard it as a "secularisation of religion"—to use Mr. Winterbotham's phrase—and we much question whether Dissenters would regard a Doctorship of Divinity, conferred either by Oxford or Cambridge, as an honour to be sought after if it meant only an academical degree, implying the possession of mere literary acquisitions. At any rate, they will not very deeply grieve that the circumstances to which we have above adverted, put it into the category of academical honours not to be thrown open by the present Bill. The abolition of clerical fellowships is another matter. It is a question of time only. No doubt, the policy of leaving them untouched for the present, has two sides to it, and is a heavy price to pay for other advantages supposed to be thereby purchased. But we do not agree with the hon. member for Brighton who, one would suppose, makes no pledges with regard to the future short of what are demanded of him by inexorable logic, that it is never expedient to consent to hold one's hand, or that in the present instance a pre-agreement as to the terms upon which the measure was transferred to the responsibility of Government was unwisely entered into, or will be found eventually to have done anything but good in the promotion of the great object which he and we have equally at heart.

ECCLESIASTICAL NOTES.

THERE are already many indications that the Report of the Irish Education Commissioners will not be received without strong protest. It is being discussed with every variety of feeling throughout Ireland, and it is almost clear that any attempt to make a radical change in the present system will be very steadfastly resisted. The ablest reply to it that we have yet seen is from the pen of a Commissioner who was one of the minority of those who declined to sign the report. Mr. James Gibson has addressed to the Earl of Powis a very elaborate review of the recommendations of the majority of the Commissioners, pointing out how their adoption would result in the abandonment of the present principle of National Education. The object of the National system was, and is, to keep clear of all interference with particular religious tenets, and to induce the whole population to receive the benefits of education "as one undivided body, under one and the same system, and in the same Establishments." If attendance be any gauge of success, the system has suc-

ceeded, and the only parties who have ever expressed dissatisfaction with it have been the extreme sectarians belonging to the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Episcopalian Churches. In both these bodies, we believe, it is principally, if not exclusively, the clerical section that is dissatisfied. In our judgment Mr. Gibson has replied most successfully to the claims advanced by these people, to whom the Commissioners as a body seem altogether to have succumbed. His objections cover the whole question, and his arguments seem to us to be unanswerable. It should be added that Mr. Gibson supports himself by corroborative evidence of the strongest character. What we obtain from him is an increased confidence that the National system, as a whole, works well; and that it would, to say the least, be extremely inexpedient to hand over the education of the Irish people to the priests, and so to endow the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland.

We published, a fortnight ago, some returns of the Registrar-General respecting the number of registered Dissenting places of worship in England and Wales. We made no comment upon the figures contained in this return, because we altogether doubted their conclusiveness. We now notice, however, that the *Guardian* has admitted into its columns an article upon them which has since been copied into the *Record*, and will no doubt be made, by-and-bye, useful for purposes of Church controversy. The *Guardian* correspondent points attention to the fact that while in 1851 there were 20,390 meeting-houses returned as being in existence by the Census Commissioners, there were, according to the Registrar-General, only 17,589 in existence last January, "an absolute decrease of nearly 3,000." The writer goes on to say:—

It is true there may be meeting-houses that are not licensed; but it is remarkable that those denominations which seem to be thriving appear so on the return. For instance, there were—

Meeting-houses	In 1851.	In 1870.
Roman Catholic	570	639
Primitive Methodist	2,871	3,126
On the other hand we find—		
Baptist	2,789	1,816
Independent	3,244	2,252
Conference Methodist	6,579	5,750
Calvinistic Methodist	828	756

Another circumstance that deserves attention is that while the number of Protestant Dissenting ministers at the time of the Census was 7,840, the recent petition and protest on the education question, which was evidently intended to be sent to all whose addresses could be procured, was only forwarded to 7,800. Of course, this latter number may not have been exhaustive of the class, but considering how large a proportion of that class is connexional, or at all events gathered into associations, it is difficult to conceive that the number passed over could have been large. Enough has been said to show how grievously Parliament has been deluded.

The value of these inferences may be shown by the fact that the Primitive Methodist Conference has just returned its congregations at 6,397, or more than double the number "registered." The fact is that half the places of religious worship connected with Nonconformity, as all Nonconformists know, are not registered, and therefore the Registrar's returns are of comparatively little value. The statistical inquiry made by this journal with regard to the ecclesiastical condition of London a few years ago, showed how reliable was Mr. Horace Mann's work, and how greatly Nonconformity had increased since 1851.

There is an expressive but rather vulgarly worded proverb about "going the whole hog," which has just been illustrated by Archdeacon Bickersteth at a Church Conference held at Birmingham last week. The Archdeacon had to speak upon the Education Question, and in doing so protested against Churchmen yielding to Dissenters upon the points that are now most prominent. The Church of England, he said, represented "97 or 98 per cent." of the population, and they never could yield to a small number who have never done anything that could compare with the work of the Church. The Archdeacon might just as well have said that the Church represented a hundred, or even a hundred and one, per cent. of the population. Are there any Dissenters at all? The Archdeacon allows us about five hundred thousand altogether. It is quite true that in 1851 more than three million persons were found to attend Dissenting places of worship; but, of course, this is nothing. It is also quite true that some hundreds of places of worship have been built since then, but of course, they must be occupied by Churchmen. Indeed, the work of the few Dissenters that there are in England must be chiefly confined, according to the Archdeacon's notion, to building places in which Churchmen may and do worship. There can be no greater mistake, in fact, than to suppose that the people who regularly go, and have gone all their lives, to Nonconformist churches and "chapels" are really Nonconformists. How can they be when, in all England and Wales, there are only half a million Nonconformists, or about twenty

to every place of worship? This is the logical outcome of the Archdeacon's most original venture into the world of statistics.

It is interesting, just at the present moment, to exhume some evidence given before Sir John Pakington's Committee on Education in 1865. Amongst others three clerical witnesses were examined with respect to the designs of the Liberation Society and the fearful scenes that might ensue if a "Conscience Clause" were introduced into Church schools. The Rev. J. G. Lonsdale, Secretary of the National Society, gave the following evidence upon the point:—

1637. With respect to the Conscience Clause, you have stated that your objection to it was that it would drive the clergy from the schools; what is there in the Conscience Clause which you consider would have that unfortunate effect?—To put the matter strongly, perhaps, it would be open to any agent of the so-called "Liberation Society" to come down into a parish and stir up that parish, and say, "Here you have this handle against your clergyman: insist upon your rights everywhere, and do not let that clergyman teach you the catechism."

1638. The Conscience Clause is only asked for in the case where the majority of the children already belong to the Church of England, is it not so?—If I understand rightly, it is where the majority do not belong to Church of England.

1639. Then, perhaps, you will accept it from me, that where the majority do not belong to the Church of England, it is extremely doubtful whether a Church school would be considered as coming within the sanction of the code; that, as a matter of fact, the Conscience Clause is imposed where the majority of the children belong to the Church of England, but where there is a considerable minority of Dissenters: such being the case, do you suppose that an agent of the "Liberation Society" could proceed with any effect into a parish where the majority belong to the Church of England, and could induce the parents to withdraw their children from the school?—I could conceive such a case, certainly.

1640. But do not you conceive that such an event as that is altogether of extremely remote probability?—I am not sure as to that.

1641. You have very great faith in the vigour and efficacy of the proceedings of the "Liberation Society"? They are very active, certainly, and I do not know what might happen.

"Don't know what might happen": what has happened is that the National Society is now clamouring for education with the Conscience Clause, having, it must be supposed, lost its dread of the Liberation Society.

Archdeacon Denison was another witness, and it is due to the Archdeacon to say that he has not changed his views. This was his opinion in 1865, and, of course, it is his opinion now:—

1639. Do you think that if the Conscience Clause were generally imposed, there would be an organised opposition of parents on objections of this kind?—I think you would immediately have the Liberation Society sending out their emissaries for schools, as they do now with reference to Church-rates; and it is my distinct opinion, that they would be poking their noses into every parish, to try and urge people to form a combination against the clergyman to force upon him the secular system in his school.

1640. And by the powerful action of such an organisation, and by a liberal expenditure, would they not probably be able to disorganise most of the Church schools in the country?—I believe they would.

The present Marquis of Salisbury, then Lord Robert Cecil, had evidently similar fears, for he questioned Mr. Fagan, the Rector of Rodney, in his old alarmist style. Thus—

1663. Is not this the probable state of the case, that so long as the Conscience Clause is only enforced in a very few instances, the Liberation Society may not think it worth their while to interfere; but that if the Conscience Clause were universally imposed, or even generally imposed, it would be worth their while to employ their organisation for that purpose?—Yes, that is what I should anticipate, certainly.

1664. That represents the nature of the fear which you entertain?—Not necessarily of the Liberation Society, but of Dissenters as such, who carry on an organised system of opposition to the Church. We are all aware that there are two sorts of dissent; there is the dissent which the vast majority of these parents have, which is anything but organised, or anything but direct opposition to the Church; but, as your lordship knows, there is another species of dissent, and another class of Dissenters, who are directly disposed to attack the Church.

1665. Do you think that the fear of what the parents may do as regards the Conscience Clause, is not very great; but it is the fear of organised Dissent acting upon the parents, which makes you so apprehensive of this great danger?—Yes, undoubtedly that is the case with regard to this generation, but I also anticipate that in time to come, very likely the parents would urge it much more than they are likely to do now.

1666. You think that the parents may, in some cases, be infected with the political animus of organised Dissent?—Quite so.

The whirligig of time brings many changes, but has not lately brought one of a more remarkable character than the change of position in the Church with respect to the Conscience Clause.

THE EDUCATION BILL.

MEETING OF LONDON NONCONFORMISTS.

A public meeting of the Nonconformists of the metropolis was held in St. James's Hall on Monday evening, to consider the Government Education Bill. Mr. McArthur, M.P., was called to the chair, and

on the platform we noticed the Revs. C. H. Spurgeon, A. Hannay, Mark Wilks, S. H. Booth, T. L. Marshall, W. Tarbotton, R. Ashton, J. G. Rogers, H. J. Robjohns (Newcastle), Sir F. Lycett; Messrs. J. Cowen, jun., T. C. Clarke, H. Spicer, jun., James Heywood, H. Richard, M.P., A. Illingworth, M.P., P. W. Clayden, F. Pennington, &c., &c.

The CHAIRMAN said that as a meeting had been held a short time ago under the auspices of the Manchester Education Union, and another would be held on Wednesday under the auspices of the Birmingham League, it might be asked why they held this meeting. The answer was that there were a large number of Nonconformists in London not belonging to either of these associations, who desired to express their opinion on the great question now before Parliament and the country. They might congratulate themselves upon the very great advance which had taken place on this question. Mr. Forster's bill was an advance. It was now clearly recognised and admitted by all, that the time had arrived when every child in this country should receive an education. (Cheers.) While Mr. Forster's Bill contained in itself a great many very admirable provisions there were knotty points in it to which they could not assent. One point on which nearly all parties were agreed was that the present denominational schools in the country should not be disturbed. This was certainly a compromise, but it was one which was generally admitted, because those schools had rendered very valuable services to the interests of education. (Hear, hear.) At a time when others were asleep they were working, and therefore it was felt that they should be allowed to remain as at present, subject to an efficient conscience clause that would protect the interests and rights and liberties of the parent. Another admirable provision was that no board or no authority should have the power or the right to forbid the Bible being introduced into the schools of the country. (Cheers.) There was a difference of opinion as to the Bible lesson, as to instruction from the Bible. He believed the great majority of the country would not only admit the Bible, but Bible instruction if that instruction were denominational and unsectarian. (Cheers.) He knew there was a difficulty as to the determining what was denominational and unsectarian. (Hear, hear.) That difficulty might be got over, and he believed with Mr. Vernon Harcourt that Bible lessons explained on broad principles might be introduced into schools with perfect safety. There were some other matters connected with the bill to which all Nonconformists would give their most strenuous opposition. One was that the power given by the bill should not be given to local boards to determine the religious character of schools to be aided or supported by local rates. (Hear, hear.) It would be a sad state of things to have the controversy of Church-rates revived again; to have discord introduced into every parish in the country, and each party contending with the other as to what peculiar denomination the school should belong to. He hoped Mr. Forster and the Government would see the importance of so modifying that part of their bill as to prevent the strife and religious animosity which that clause was sure to create in the country. They were all agreed that, in all State-sided schools, all denominational formularies and catechisms should be excluded. (Cheers.) He thought that in every district of the country school boards should be at once established, and it should be left to the parties on the spot, elected by ballot, to determine whether or not a want existed for more educational facilities in a particular district. With regard to the boards themselves the bill did not go far enough. The districts should include less than a population of 7,000 inhabitants. He believed no system of education would meet the wants of the country that was not compulsory. (Cheers.) It would be impossible to get down to the lowest depths of the population unless it were so, and therefore he would not leave it to be determined by district boards whether or not education should be compulsory, but would make it apply to every part of the country, and see to it that every child should receive an education. (Cheers.) Mr. Forster said the country was not prepared for it, but the fact was that the working classes to a man were asking for it. He hoped that that principle would be recognised, and that they would have a system of education that would meet the wants of the country, that would be established on the principles of religious equality, and would give to every child an education fitting them for the position in life to which God had called them. (Applause.)

The Rev. ALEX. HANNAY moved the first resolution:—

That this meeting, while cordially recognising the value of the amendments proposed by Mr. Forster to be introduced into the Elementary Education Bill, feels compelled to express its conviction that so long as, under its provisions, it be required to pay rates for the teaching of religious tenets from which they dissent, the bill cannot have the approval of Nonconformists.

He said the right hon. gentleman who was responsible for the conduct of the Elementary Education Bill through the House of Commons, complained that his opponents, unable to agree among themselves with regard to the provisions they would substitute for those which were offensive to them in his measure, found agreement, and an occasion of cordial goodwill towards each other in a conspiracy to denounce and abuse him. He did not believe there was any good reason for this feeling on the hon. gentleman's part. So far as he had observed the tone of the meetings called in opposition to the mea-

sure on the Liberal side—and it was a significant circumstance that all opposition worthy of the name came from the Liberal side—(cheers)—the tone had not been one of abuse or of denunciation, but of disappointment, and of bitter, sorrowful surprise. There were no men in England more loyal to the principles the present Government were understood to represent when they entered on office, no men who more cordially welcomed the present Liberal chief, with his staff, Mr. Forster among the rest, to power, than the men who were conducting this agitation in opposition to the Elementary Education Bill. (Applause.) This passing and superficial disaffection had in it no element of personal feeling, except that of reverence and affection towards the Government, which had very greatly modified the tone of their protests, and had brought some of them to the verge of perilous concessions in order to carry the Government through the difficulty in which it had placed itself. (Cheers.) They felt that the Government in a matter of cardinal policy which would affect the higher life of the nation for many generations to come, was timidly and distrustfully handling its own principles, and playing without intending it into the hands of the adversaries of progress. (Cheers.) He could not allow himself to believe that the ultimate attitude of the Government would be such as to turn that which was a mere opposition to certain provisions of a Government measure into opposition to that Government itself. After referring to the difficulties the Government had had to contend with since they took upon themselves the task of passing an Education Bill, he said notices of amendments had been given which would largely improve and liberalise the measure. Those amendments principally interesting Nonconformists were first the time-table arrangement for religious instruction and observances, which was upon the whole satisfactory, or might with very little tinkering be made satisfactory; and secondly, the prohibition of inspection in religious subjects which was altogether satisfactory. Those two amendments removed two of the leading blots of the measure as originally drafted, but they left the great blot untouched. It was still provided at the instance of the Government that the present denominational system of education should be continued and extended; and provision was made for the teaching of religious truth if any religious denomination happened to have the priceless treasure, and having it, could get a majority on the school board, which perhaps, considering what school boards were likely to be, was not a very likely issue. But then the manifold error which must be supposed to be the boast and the glory of other denominations might be taught also if it could find a majority on the school board. Mr. Forster virtually challenged the several religious denominations of the land to go up. "There," said he, "are the fields white unto the harvest. Go up every man, settle there, fix your vocation, do the best stroke of work you can, and take the largest slice of the public money you can get." One could easily picture the whole thing. Mr. Forster, the representative of the nation in this great educational movement, had thus challenged denominations. The Roman Catholic Church stands forward and says, "Well," pointing to Rome, "there is no salvation out of the Church. That is the truth, I am going to teach in the elementary school." There steps up beside him the Anglican, who says, "It is very true what my holy brother has just said—(much laughter)—there is no salvation out of the Church"; then pointing to the Church of England, he says, "but you know, sir, this is a branch establishment," and that is what I am going to teach in the elementary school." Then, not without heat, steps in the Genevan Presbyter, who, pointing to his two predecessors, says, "They are mother and daughter, Mr. Forster. (Laughter and cheers.) Scarlet women both, drugging the nations with the wine of their fornication. Salvation, is not an affair of the Church, but of faith in the living Redeemer of man—(Hear, hear)—and that is what I am going to teach in the elementary schools"; and about him there is a great company who do not speak quite in his twang, are hardly such hard-faced men, fatter and better to do,—Wesleyans, (Laughter)—Baptists, Congregationalists, and they all say, "We say with this last man, and that is what we are going to teach in the elementary schools." Mr. Forster, with an imperturbability that was surely sublime, says, "Very well, I don't believe in any of you, but that difficulty may be got over. I will hire you all. Get you up into the vineyard, and I will pay you each man his penny." Surely this must offend the moral judgment and the common sense of every man who reflects upon it. They were told by Mr. Forster that he had introduced into the bill this great principle that the Imperial Government should have nothing to do with religious teaching. Turning to the bill, he found machinery which authorised school boards in all parts of the country to determine that there should be religious teaching in the schools within their respective bounds; to determine, moreover, what the ecclesiastical and theological type of that teaching should be, to tax the whole people in order to carry out their decision, and to compel attendance at schools thus constituted. Was not this to interfere in the religious teaching of the people? They were told by Mr. Forster that he had a second principle in view, namely, that they must not prevent parents from having religious teaching if they desired it. But this second principle played Cain with the first, turned it out of doors and took its life away. They could not have these two principles unbroken and in operation in the same measure, for if the Government allowed taxation to be levied to give these good people their desire in the matter of religious

teaching, then it was interfering with religious teaching. (Cheers.) It would be said the tendency of his argument was to limit the teaching in public schools to secular instruction. He should be very glad if he had made that clear as his definite, deliberate, and so far as he could judge, after much thought, final determination on this matter. (Cheers.) It was said the Church had failed to teach the people religion. If a State-Church system established for religious ends had failed to teach religion to the people, was this little peddling scheme of a new army of national schoolmasters likely to accomplish it? (Applause.) He could not agree with the chairman on the question of Bible or no Bible in the common school. He was unable to make a distinction between the teaching of the tenets peculiar to individual sects and the teaching of the Bible in the common school. Their creeds were manifold, but the Bible was, after all, the text-book of them all, and would be interpreted from their different points of view. Then what were they to do with the Roman Catholics? They were millions in number, and were entitled to equal civil rights with the rest of the population. (Hear, hear.) It had been said, "Let there be no sectarian teaching, but let the Bible be used. Let there be the Bible-lesson." They forgot that, to their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen, the Bible, as they read it, was the great classic of heresy. The Bible to the Catholic was a denominational instrument. He saw no way but to exclude the Bible, as a class-book, from the common school. (Loud cheers and cries of "No no.") He was for every child in England being taught to read the Bible, and being led through its sacred mysteries. He would have him preserve it in his reverence and in his faith, and for that very reason he wanted its teaching to be left to religious men—(cheers)—and to religious institutions. They were about to do a great national work. If it was founded on sound principles, if it was wisely and vigilantly conducted, it would contribute to the unity, the strength, and glory of the nation; but if it was founded on a principle which taxed any classes of Her Majesty's subjects for the teaching of religious tenets from which they dissented, this end would be thwarted, and therefore he moved the resolution. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. ALFRED ILLINGWORTH, M.P., seconded the resolution. He said he would commence by following the previous speaker's example and make a clean breast of it. In the first place he regretted that the Government had meddled with this elementary education question during the present session of Parliament. His interest in this question was second to none, but he believed upon this as upon other subjects there might be more haste than speed sometimes. He spoke of the misfortune it was when a Government was not able to carry its supporters with it, and said the principal difficulty in this question arose from the fact that it had got altogether into the wrong groove. In bygone times it had not been a national question, but a privileged denominational sectarian affair from beginning to end, and their object as a reformed Parliament was to get it out of the rut, and to make the measure consonant with the feeling of the times. After quoting the opinion of Mr. Cobden in favour of a national secular system of education, he said it had been said that those who advocated a secular or literary system of education were godless people. He was happy to say that they had lived down such charges, and they could now treat the question and discuss it fairly in this light, not as to whether religion was not desirable, but whether it was the duty of the State to give religious instruction, and if so whether it could carry its own intentions into effect. Mr. Forster said that the Government dare not ask the House of Commons to meddle with this religious question. They were such a motley assembly that if the Bible were to be put down in their midst leaf after leaf would be torn out in order that certain prejudices might disappear, and when it came to be examined after the process there would be nothing left but the backs. Mr. Forster said that the difficulty that they could not manage must be transferred to the country. But how were the schools boards to be appointed? The Town Council was to elect the school board: how would they proceed with their work? Would they leave out all Episcopalians in some school boards, or all Roman Catholics in other districts? If not all the other qualifications of gentlemen appointed to the post would be thrown away, because the first thing they would have to do was to say what religious instruction was to be given in the schools. Mr. Forster was not solving this difficulty, but merely transferring it to the districts and parishes of England, to be a perpetual source of strife and confusion, in which not only would secular instruction be very materially damaged, but deep injury and insult would be cast upon religion. He was glad to find Mr. Richard had put upon the paper a notice that in elementary schools there should be no teaching at the expense of the State of religious tenets to which any disagree. This, properly interpreted, must really mean the State can have nothing to do with religious teaching, because all people on the Liberal side of the House went to this extent, that there should be nothing peculiar to any sect. He had been amused with the admission of gentlemen that they want religious teaching out of the Bible, but they do not want any sectarianism. His sectarianism was to be found in the Bible, and he granted that gentlemen who could not find any authority for their sectarianism should banish it from their creed and confession. The Bishop of Winchester said the Baptists were about at the antipodes of anything he held or thought. Now, the Baptists would open the New Testament and would declare most distinctly that adult immersion was in every page where the subject was touched. (Cheers, and cries of "No.") He was delighted to hear the "noes," because that

completed his case. To take a more extreme case: how could they deal with the sublimest subject of the New Testament. They taught, or they would make religion a worthless thing, that Jesus Christ was the Son of God. To the Unitarian that was sectarianism. How would they deal with the Jews and Roman Catholics? If they were going to respect the conscience of every one of those and other denominations, all he could say was he feared they would have very little of the New Testament left upon which they could expound. He agreed with the Bishop of Winchester that each denomination was under the severest obligation to teach and expound that which it found in the Bible, abating nothing and adding nothing, and that suitable opportunities must be given in every case where the parents were willing that their children should attend where this special religious instruction could be given. Mr. Baines was very anxious that there should be this undenominational teaching given, but he had been for years identified with the mechanics institutes in the north of England, and it was a standing rule with those institutions that nothing of a religious character should be taught there either *pro* or *con*. That was a declaration going the length and no less of what they proposed, that there was a proper time for literary and secular teaching, and a proper time for religious instruction, and the man the best qualified for secular instruction was not necessarily the proper individual to give the religious instruction. He believed it was the duty of the State to put down a town's pump and to supply the purest water. Many people would no doubt say, "This is a beverage we do not like." Their answer was, "This is the foundation of each of the beverages you like to drink, and each according to your own taste can add to it exactly what spirit you like." Unless Englishmen were straightforward and consistent in their proceedings on this Education Bill, they must yield to the Roman Catholics of Ireland their special demand, which was that the present unsectarian system of teaching in Ireland should be given up to them, and be made denominational and Roman Catholic. They must as Nonconformists desiring to do justice as well as obtain justice, be content with equal rights, or concede everything that the Roman Catholics require. (Cheers.)

Mr. HENRY RICHARD, M.P., supported the resolution. He said it could not be denied that the Education Bill introduced by the present Government had excited no little disappointment and surprise among many of their best friends and supporters, and had compelled them to assume an attitude of what he should call friendly antagonism. (Hear, hear.) But that did not imply, as Mr. Hannay had stated, any disaffection towards, or any want of confidence in, the best and noblest Liberal Government that they had in this country for many years. (Cheers.) No man had more earnestly and anxiously sought, or had taken more pains to obtain, a fair and satisfactory solution of the difficulties, confessedly serious and formidable, which beset this question, than had the Prime Minister himself, and he could not speak in other than terms of the utmost kindness and respect for Mr. Forster. Nor must they forget that Mr. Forster had already rendered signal service to the cause of education in the Endowed School Bills last year, which gave to Nonconformists what they had been craving for many years. (Hear, hear.) The success which attended his effort on that occasion emboldened him to imagine that he could deal in a similarly summary way with the far more complex and difficult question of primary education. He (Mr. Richard) thought it was a mistake to introduce a measure for National Education at all during the present session of Parliament. The question was being discussed in the country with unusual earnestness and with unusual temper and moderation; and it would have been better to have allowed the discussion to have gone on for another twelvemonth, until public opinion had subsided into something like clearness and consistency. If Government had withheld its hand for awhile, they would have been able to discover what the prevailing sentiment of this country was, and thereby have saved themselves from the error into which they had fallen, for it could not be denied that those who had prepared the bill had seriously misapprehended the state of public opinion in regard to this subject. His own position with regard to this question was this—some of them might be aware that for many years he adhered to that party in the country who doubted the duty and the right of the Government to interfere with education of the people at all. Their principle was this—that the primary obligation for the education of his child rested upon the parent, and that whatever tended to weaken the sense of that obligation was injurious, and it was the duty of Christian men interested in the education of the people to aid and assist parents in the discharge of that duty. He was not at all convinced, even now, that that was not the right principle. The endless embarrassment in which they were involved through calling in the agency of the State rather tended to confirm that view. Be that as it may, the people of England refused to accept that principle, and came to ask that the Government should take this question in hand. When they admitted the principle that the State should be called in to take care of the education of the people, there was no ground which it was possible for him to take as a conscientious Nonconformist save and except this, that when authority, whether Imperial or local, came in to lay its hand on the education of the people, it could only touch the secular portion of the education. (Cheers.) As Nonconformists they held this principle, that they could not approve of the application of money raised by a tax for the teaching of religion. Mr. Bright in his speech delivered by him in the

House of Commons in 1847, speaking upon an education scheme introduced by Lord Russell, in reply to a speech made by Mr. Macaulay, who had referred to the agitation of the Nonconformists as clamour that was going on out of doors, said, "Just recollect when the whole of the Nonconformists are charged with clamour what they mean by being Nonconformists. They object, as I understand—at least I object—to the principle by which Government seizes public funds in order to give salaries and support to the teachers of all sects of religion, or of one sect of religion, for I think the one plan nearly as unjust as the other. Either the Nonconformists hold this opinion or they are a great imposture." He (Mr. Richard) said the same thing. (Cheers.) Either they held that opinion or they must confess themselves to be impostors. But holding that opinion, how was it possible that they could give any support to a system which was to tax the whole community, and then give power to local boards to establish schools in which not only one religion, but all religions might be taught, for one board might choose to appoint one kind of religion, and another another. In a word, to use the language of Mr. Cobden, it was to enact a law by which everybody was to pay for teaching everybody's religion. Did they still intend to adhere to the principle he had affirmed, that they could not approve of applying money raised by public taxation to religious teaching? If they were going to abandon that principle, let them do so openly and manfully. They could not escape the difficulty by saying that they did not want sectarian religious teaching, or denominational religious teaching, or dogmatic religious teaching. These vague phrases only avert for awhile the danger. If they paid the public money for teaching any religion, denominational or undenominational, they betrayed their principles as Nonconformists. (Cheers.) He was more anxious than he could express that they, as Nonconformists, should be faithful to their convictions in this crisis. They must not betray their principles even for the sake of education, for they would want those principles again. (Cheers.) Other controversies were looming in the distance, on which they would want their principles. They must not let the enemy lull them to sleep and then steal their weapons. They would want them another time to fight other battles; and therefore, come what might, he hoped the great body of Nonconformists in this country would adhere to their principles. The question was not whether they would give religious education to the children of their people. He repelled the imputation that he was indifferent to the religious education of the people. (Cheers.) He had spent his whole life in endeavouring to promote this. The question was not whether religious education should be given, but by whom and in what form it should be given. He maintained that the State could not teach religion, but on that account the churches of the land would, he believed, awaken with a more resolute purpose than even to do that which they had hitherto neglected, because of some pretence of religious education given in the day-schools, to take care of the lambs of the fold, and to give them proper education. (Cheers.)

The Rev. ARTHUR MURSELL said a great deal had been made of the so-called "religious difficulty." He contended that there ought not to be a religious difficulty in the way of the education of the people, and that if they would try to keep two kindred but distinct things apart the religious difficulty will disappear. What people were afraid of, and what they as Nonconformists were afraid of, was not religion, but proselytism; they were afraid of the prostitution of education and religion into the engine and policy of political intrigue. (Cheers.) The sects could not trust one another, and the only honest and effective means he could see of dealing with this question was to leave the religious teaching of their youth to the solicitude of parents and seal of sects, and to ask from the State a plan of a secular education pure and simple. He thought it exceedingly anomalous that a child must not be allowed to learn the difference between a definite and indefinite article for fear of being taught thirty-nine other rather indefinite articles which were not included in the grammar. (Laughter and cheers.) Still he was afraid that it was of no use contending for a point which they were not likely to gain, and that they must submit to the introduction of the Bible and Bible teaching in elementary schools. (No, no.) They were at the same time bound to insist on some guarantee that there should be Bible teaching, and Bible teaching only, and not sectarian teaching. There was every desire on the part of Mr. Forster to deal honestly and fairly by all the religious denominations, but he saw very little to be gained by encumbering the bill with time-table clauses. The religious difficulty was not to be charmed away by gushing fraternisations on the platform; the ghost would not be laid by the conference of a few schoolmasters, who, looking only at the surface, failed to observe the undercurrent and sentiment out of which the manifold difficulty sprang. But still he looked with hopefulness to the effect of a frank and honest interchange of thought between enlightened members of different sects as well as between an earnest people and an equally earnest Government.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. P. W. CLAYDEN moved—

That, considering that a number of denominational schools have been called into existence under the minutes of the Privy Council, this meeting does not urge the withdrawal of the grants they at present receive, but deprecates any extension of the denominational system of education at the cost of the State, and heartily approves of the application of the time-time conscience clause to those schools, and of the abolition of all inquiries on the part of the Government inspector into the religious teaching given in them.

He said the resolution he had been asked to submit to them was one that he feared would hardly command the ready assent of the meeting, for now that they had so enthusiastically laid down the principle on which they believed an education bill for this country ought to be founded, the next thing they would have to do would be

to lay a little of that enthusiasm aside and come to a calm and deliberate and statesmanlike consideration of how much they would demand and with how much they would be content. He wished, as a warning, to say that he had in the House of Commons within a few hours seen a very important amendment defeated owing to a division amongst the Dissenters there. If the resolution were passed as a wise and generous compromise he believed the Government and Parliament would accept it. The basis of the compromise was this—the schools existing at the present time were denominational schools. It was not proposed in the bill of the Government to supersede those schools, but that where those schools had not met the deficiency in the education of the people, that deficiency should be supplied by the rate-aided and rate-supported schools. Let these two classes of schools go on together, and side by side. Let the denominational schools alone; leave them for the present only with the application of Mr. Forster's rather effectually amended time-table conscience clause, and do not allow the school boards to support them out of their rates, but allow the school boards to set up schools of their own in all the districts of the country, and make those new schools absolutely unsectarian and free. (Cheers.) This might not be a permanent settlement of the question; but it was a compromise to rest upon for a time. If this compromise were not granted they must agitate for the entire severance of the State and religion in every respect. (Cheers.)

Mr. BENJAMIN SCOTT seconded the resolution, doing so, he said, by way of compromise. He said it was quite possible that a conscience clause such as was proposed by Mr. Forster might possibly work advantageously in their large towns and cities where there was such a thing as public opinion and a public free press, but he knew from experience that a conscience clause was utterly useless and impracticable in the rural districts. (Cheers.) It never did and never would secure fairness and equality as regards religious teaching. Referring to the conferences held by members of Parliament with teachers of schools, he said teachers were not the parties to be consulted in this matter, but the parents. What he had said about the insufficiency of the conscience clause referred to 10,000 parishes and 10,000 schools, and who should have the rural mind of the country for the next few generations was the question they had to fight. There must be no further extension of the denominational system by the aid of the State. (Cheers.) After giving instances of the utter uselessness of the conscience clause and the intolerance of the clergy in rural districts, the speaker said he thought it was possible to find a compromise in this matter in the reading of God's word, and he could not but believe that in the reading of that word there must be some amount of benefit conferred. He would go so far, although he felt that logically it was inconsistent for a Nonconformist to go even so far as that. Scripture teaching meant the teaching of the particular sentiments of every teacher, clergyman, and gentleman, and there was not a single thing taught amongst men of religion or morals that might not be extracted by a clever man from the Scriptures. He was not very anxious about the fate of the bill. If it passed with some amendments it would do some good, but if it passed as it stood it would produce an amount of sectarian strife throughout the country which would precipitate at no very distant day the settlement of the whole question about religious establishments.

The resolution was carried by a majority of the meeting, a considerable number of hands being held up against it.

The Rev. J. G. ROGERS moved the third resolution—That in relation to schools established or aided by local school boards out of the rates, this meeting believes that the difficulties of the case may be met by prohibiting the use therein of any religious catechisms or formularies, or the teaching of anything in opposition to, or in support of, the tenets of any sect—this prohibition not to apply to the use of the Holy Scriptures, but such use, wherever adopted, to be under the regulation of the time-time conscience clause, so that the attendance of any child at such Bible lessons shall not be compulsory.

He said Nonconformists were said to be in an uncertain position. Twenty-five years ago Mr. Baines laid down these principles: that education must be religious; that the State had no right to interfere with religion; and therefore that the State had no business to interfere with education at all. That was a consistent position.

Mr. Baines retained the first two positions, but he did not now arrive at the inevitable conclusion that therefore the Government had no right to interfere with education at all, but said there might be some kind of religious teaching which the Government had a right to take care of. He (Mr. Rogers) could not follow him in that. The Bishop of Winchester advocated denominational schools. It was to be hoped that Mr. Gladstone would advocate a different mode of action. Let there be the complete separation of the secular and the religious. Let the secular teaching be in school hours by the schoolmaster, but when his work was done let the churches come in, each having its fair position in the schoolroom, and let them undertake the religious teaching of the children at their own cost. If that was Mr. Gladstone's view he would have the support of the great body of Nonconformists of this country. The truest solution of the difficulty would be the separation of the religious from the secular. In doing that they would recognise the importance of religion as an element of education as much as by any other enactment they could devise. But if that was impossible then he was not prepared to oppose such a compromise as that contained in the resolution.

Mr. C. H. SPURGEON, who on rising was loudly cheered, said he believed they had cheered him under a misapprehension. He had been pained by some of the remarks he had heard. He had never expected to have heard the Scriptures spoke of as some of the speakers had spoken that night, and he trusted that he should never allow his Nonconformity, or his anti-State-Church principle, to permit him to stand by and hear the Word of God lightly spoken of. He had not wished to speak there, but if he did speak he must speak his mind. They knew that he was as earnest as anyone as an opponent to the doctrines of the Prayer-book of the Church of England, which he believed to be clear Popery, and he was prepared to fight as well as any man, but he was not prepared to make that fight the one business of his life, his whole aim and object. Years ago he believed with Mr. Baines, that education must be religious or nothing, and that the Government had nothing to do with religion. Therefore the Govern-

ment should have nothing to do with education. He was sorry to have that strong ground removed, but such was the fact. They had been illogical right through, or they would not have allowed the Government to touch education. They would have acted with greater spirit if they had carried out education themselves. He believed voluntaryism had not failed, but had been a great triumph. At the same time they had not done all they might have done, or all they should have done. Having been compelled to give up the doctrine that Government should not deal with education, they must still never yield religion to the control of Bumbleton, or to the country clergy and squires, who, however, were not always so bad as they were represented. Taking district vestries all round, he could scarcely trust them with the government of a fourpenny-piece, much less with the government of education. (Laughter and cheers.) They could not have Bumbleton. He agreed that schools must neither be irreligious nor sectarian; but, as to whether the Bible was to be admitted, that was a matter of principle. Education must be religious in the very nature of things. ("No, no," and cheers.) He would not send his child to a school where the Bible was not read. (Hear, hear.) What was more, if the Government established such schools, and tried to compel him to send his child there, he would defy the Government, and would preach up and down this land that it is the duty of all men to defy the Government on that point. (Murmurs.) We should look upon the exclusion of the Bible from day-schools as a religion—the worst kind of religion. (No, no.) Permit the Bible to be read by those children whose parents wish them to read it. Instead of making it a penalty make it a privilege to be gained. He saw difficulties in his plan, but, on the other hand, if each sect were to teach its own forms, instead of a book, they would be teaching them the bitterest sectarianism. He was willing to concede to every man the utmost liberty, and he must ask that his children be allowed to read the Bible. He believed that in this he represented the great bulk of the Nonconformists, and he trusted that the day would never come when a meeting of Nonconformists would say they would not allow the Bible to be read. He believed that, subject to the introduction of the Bible, education ought to be made compulsory. (Cheers.)

The resolution was put and carried by a large majority.

A vote of thanks to the chairman terminated the proceedings.

THE IRISH EDUCATION COMMISSIONERS' REPORT.

The report of the Commission on Primary Education is likely to create much bitter controversy in Ireland. Already the press, both Conservative and Liberal, are at full work upon it. With few exceptions, the leading journals condemn such suggestions of the Commissioners as would affect the integrity of the mixed national system. The *Northern Whig*, siding with the minority on the Commission, observes:—"There is no denying the fact that the Royal Commission was unfairly constituted. The friends of the national system had no adequate representation on the board. Though an equal number of Protestants and Catholics were placed upon it, five of the Protestants were members of the late Irish Church Establishment, and only two were Presbyterians. Now, it is well known that the Presbyterians have far more children in the National schools than the Protestant Episcopalians, the numbers being, as stated in the Assembly last Wednesday, 104,000 to 63,000—very nearly two to one. But this is not all. The Roman Catholic Commissioners were generally hostile to the system, as a matter of course; and some of the Protestant Episcopal Commissioners were also professed denominationalists. Then there were two denominational inspectors of English schools, men with no knowledge of Ireland. They, too, were believed to be opposed to the very system into which the Royal Commission professed to inquire."

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, now sitting in Belfast, has engaged in a formal discussion of the education question. In a report presented to the Assembly on the subject by a special committee, the opinion is declared that the plan recommended by the Commission is "much more insidious and dangerous" than the denominational system. The "committee believe that any such change would be utterly ruinous to a national system of education. They protest against any national school, Protestant or Roman Catholic, being left without a protective rule as regards religious instruction."

Owing to the constant migration of the people, a school may be unmixed to-day, and to-morrow admission may be sought by one or more children of a different faith, and it would be unreasonable to require the habits and organisation of a whole school to be altered for the sake of two or three pupils, who, after attending for a few days, may be withdrawn to another place. Besides, if one school were allowed the use of religious emblems and observances at all hours of the day, on the ground of its being unmixed, an adjoining school, having only two or three Protestant or Roman Catholic pupils in attendance, would speedily seek to get rid of them so as to be free from all restriction, and the toleration which minorities now enjoy would cease to exist; and further, it would be utterly inconsistent for the Legislature which has disendowed the Churches in Ireland to endow rival and sectarian schools; and thus to perpetuate and increase separation and sectarian animosities among the people." A series of resolutions was adopted pledging the Assembly to adhere firmly to the principle of united non-sectarian education as opposed to the denominational system, and approving of the model schools. The committee who had prepared the report were reappointed, with instructions to offer the most determined opposition to any changes that may be proposed in the national

system tending to denominationalism; "to give immediate attention to the forthcoming report of the Royal Commission on Primary Education; and to take such action with reference to it as they may think necessary; with power to hold public meetings, send deputations, and otherwise to act on behalf of the Assembly in all matters affecting the elementary education of the people."

BABOO KESHUB CHUNDER SEN ON HINDOO THEISM.

On Tuesday evening a crowded meeting took place at Union Chapel, Islington, to hear an address from the Hindoo Reformer now visiting this country, on the subject of "Hindoo Theism." The Rev. HENRY ALLEN, introducing the lecturer, said he wished it to be understood that he was not a Christian, but a Hindoo, who, having learned much in our English schools about our English thoughts and ways, was teaching his countrymen to worship the one true God, reverencing Christ as the best and greatest of men, in whom the Spirit of God dwelt the most fully. That was his present position, and they desired for him that he might be taught the way of God more fully.

The LECTURER, in a discourse of considerable length, contended that, while the Hindoos are at present characterised by widespread idolatry, a system of caste such as could not be witnessed elsewhere, social and domestic institutions of an exceedingly injurious character, prejudice, error, superstition and ignorance to a most appalling extent, the reformation of India must be from within. In ancient times the Hindoos believed in the unity of God; that system of monotheism stood, as it were, between nature worship on the one hand and pantheism on the other, and so indistinct were the lines of demarcation that it was found gliding at times imperceptibly in each of these directions. The ancient books and the earlier devotees recognised a living personal God presiding over the destinies of the world—infinit, eternal, all holy, all merciful, and all wise, entirely and absolutely spiritual, not in the least material, visible, or tangible—and opposed every form of idol worship as derogatory to the Deity. Soaring into the ethereal regions of sublime meditation, they lost their own personality in considering the immensity of God's personality. The birth of man, in such a view, is as a drop of water taken from the great ocean of life, to be restored to it at death, so that man after death loses his individuality and personality, and is lost in the immensity of the Deity. He was astonished to find the tenacity with which this doctrine was held by some of the labouring classes in the Punjab, and the subtle arguments which they advanced against a Divine personality. While one Deity is recognised as supreme, special departments of nature are supposed to be presided over by smaller deities, and hence offerings were made to the gods of the skies, wind, rain, fire, &c. One of their ancient books declared—"That God whom the mind of man cannot duly conceive, and who conceiveth every thought of the human mind, is to be regarded as the true God; those finite objects which are worshipped by the people are not the true God." With regard to caste, they had this in the sacred writings—"This man is my friend; that man is not my friend: so counteth he whose heart is narrow; but he who has a broad, and catholic heart looketh upon all mankind as his kinsmen." Caste was originally meant to be system of social distinction, a division of society into trades and professions; but in latter days this system of social distinction became strengthened and fortified by religious sanctions. The man who breaks through the distinctions of caste is held to forfeit all his claims on Divine mercy. In later times polytheism came in, and almost wholly swept away the purer system. By a curious process of logic pantheists became idolaters, for men who held that God was everywhere learned to recognise His presence in the idols. The present Hindoos do not think it necessary to read the ancient sacred books, but worship customs and tradition. The lecturer contended that "if God lives and is not an abstraction, but a real and abiding personal God, and if His all-searching eyes see the evils that lie in the heart of the individual and nation; and if He is really merciful and anxious for the delivery of the individual or nation, then certainly He must now and then interpose to sweep away all these errors of idolatry and caste to bring back the Hindoo nation, and to give them a better form of holy and national life." Such an interposition the lecturer recognised in the attempt of the Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh sect, about 400 years ago, to unite the Mahomedans and Hindoos in a form of monotheism, which should reject much which was contained in the Vedas and Koran. The Sikhs, or "disciples," still reverenced the memory of that teacher; but as the stronger body attracts the weaker, and the larger body attracts the smaller, so idolatry has drawn to itself hundreds and thousands of these; and among the Sikhs themselves elements of idolatry have crept in. Still Hindoo religious life was not altogether extinct, had not altogether evaporated into lifeless forms and outward ceremonies and symbols. The establishment of new religious sects showed at least that India was not satisfied with the state of things she sees around her. The lecturer considered that there was still an "inherent moral force" in India which would enable it "to work out its own redemption, not under the instruction of this man or that man, this book or that book, but under the direct inspiration of the holy and merciful God." He desired that Christian missionaries should help the theistic missionaries of India in gathering up the elements and material which exist in India for the development of a better

Hindoo community, and recognise such material in the temperance and simplicity of character and truthfulness which were to be found among the Hindoos. If, on the other hand, they succeeded in converting some thousands of people to doctrinal Christianity, and brought in five thousand or fifty thousand people into their fold, they would not thereby give Christian life to the nation. Truth was not European, and it would be a mistake to force European institutions upon the Hindoos, who would resist any attempt to denominationalise them. He ranked Christ above all teachers of morality, because instead of laying down a series of rules and ordinances for their guidance, He laid stress on spiritual life within, an absolute conversion of soul, and put a new force into His followers. If Christian teachers would come to India in the same meek spirit to imitate His example, he should esteem and revere them. The Brahmo Samaj, or "Church of the True God," was established about forty years ago by Ramchand Roy, and upon his death was revived by a devout Hindoo still living in Bengal. It was originally established for the propagation of theistic worship, and after a time the movement spread through the length and breadth of Bengal. "Wherever there were English schools, Brahmo Samajes were established as a necessary consequence of English education." After twenty years it was found that there was a defect in the foundation, for the Vedas upon which their faith was based taught, along with some truth, many errors,—nature-worship, transmigration, and absurd rites and ceremonies. Abandoning the infallibility of the Vedas, they appealed to nature, to their own hearts, to their own religious intuitions in order to confirm themselves upon a purely theistic basis, and the society became doctrinal and devotional, but not practical. Since that time there had been a secession of a progressive party, which numbered about four or five thousand, who protested against polygamy and the marriage restrictions of caste, and eight or nine of these had gone out as missionaries against idolatry. He trusted that the numbers would increase, and God would raise up out of the country natives who would work for the overthrow of idolatry. They had profound reverence for Christian missionaries, but wished that these missionaries would fraternise with them, rather than saying, as one did, that "idolatrous Hindoos shall find a place in heaven, but not Brahmos." There was in India a vast and varied field for true philanthropy, and he looked forward to the day when the Father of all should reward their labours with an abundant blessing.

Mr. ALLEN, in conclusion, said the lecturer had not mentioned the leading part which he had himself taken in connection with the Brahmo Samaj. He regretted that Christianity was not always presented to the Hindoos in such a light as they could wish it, but he trusted that after what the lecturer had said of Christianity in this country he would go back with the conviction that there was nothing better in the world than the Christianity of the Lord Jesus Christ. Mr. Allen concluded by presenting the thanks of the audience to the lecturer.

MILL-HILL SCHOOL.

New Foundation Day was celebrated on Wednesday, when there was a numerous attendance of life governors and other friends of this institution. The visitors arrived at noon and strolled about the grounds, and watched with interest the cricket between the old boys and the new. The dinner took place at three o'clock; Benjamin Scott, Esq., the City Chamberlain, presiding. Upon the removal of the cloth,

The CHAIRMAN gave as the first toast, "Long life and happiness to our most gracious Sovereign the Queen and the other members of the Royal Family," which was right royally honoured. He said that Mill-hill had been for nearly seventy years identified with Nonconformity, although never bigoted. When the school was reconstituted by a scheme approved in Chancery the basis was so altered that boys could be admitted who attended the parish church. In that broad and liberal spirit he proposed the next toast, "The ministers of all Christian denominations." They regarded them all alike as ministers of Christ, and esteemed them alike, as they were doing Christ's work according to their light.

The Rev. BENJAMIN NICHOLLS briefly but cordially responded on behalf of the ministers of the Established Church.

The Rev. E. WARR, in returning thanks for the Nonconformist ministers, said he appeared there as one of the old boys, and had great reason to be thankful for some of the education which he obtained in that school under Mr. Priestly. A Persian proverb said that there were three things which a young man should be taught to do, "to ride, to shoot, and to speak the truth." He rejoiced that the school would have regard to both the physical and intellectual elements. There were, he believed, few institutions in England where a youth would have better opportunities for progress in classical attainments. He had heard something said about mollusca and vertebrate animals; and he believed that what was most wanted in these days, in the sacred and secular professions, was backbone—the grace and strength to speak the truth according to their lights; and that he believed they were likely to attain in this institution, along with that knowledge of the classics which was so highly desirable in the present day.

The CHAIRMAN, in proposing the toast of the afternoon—"Prosperity to Mill-hill School"—said that toast had often been given in that room, but never with brighter prospects before the institution than at the present time. Notwithstanding that they had an overflowing company, he should have been re-

joined if they had had more of the vice-presidents present with them. Sergeant Cox, Dr. Angus, the Revs. Newman Hall, J. H. Rogers, J. Wilson, T. Binney, W. Lendel, and others, were unable to be present: but there were two vice-presidents at the table, Dr. Storer and Mr. H. Miall, and he would call upon Mr. Miall to respond. (The toast was honoured with "three times three.")

Mr. H. MIALL, M.P., in returning thanks, dwelt on the injury which had been inflicted for so long upon the Dissenting portion of the community by their exclusion from the universities, which had not merely stunted their intellectual development, but phased them at disadvantage in political struggles. He believed that Mr. Nicholls would heartily concur with him in the propriety of throwing these institutions open to all without restriction. He hoped that the day would not be far distant when there would be foundations for this institution which would connect it with our noble national universities. He earnestly hoped and fondly anticipated a bright future for this institution.

The CHAIRMAN next proposed, "The health of Dr. Weymouth, the new head-master," a toast which he was sure they would all receive with enthusiasm. As one of the governors, he felt sure he expressed the opinion of all when he said they had in Dr. Weymouth the right man in the right place. (Loud cheering.)

Dr. Weymouth said he could not be indifferent to the gratifying circumstances in which he found himself at the head of an institution which had won for itself a foremost name amongst institutions mainly supported by the various evangelical denominations, and which, although it could not boast of the educational achievements of larger schools, had sent forth one eminent astronomer, had given one bishop to the Established Church, and had produced one who was alike distinguished as a poet and as a judge; he referred to the names of Chalilis, Jameson, and Tilford. This school has been long looked to as one of the best feeders of the University of London. Although for the present the names of the old boys who had distinguished themselves had been removed from the walls of the schoolroom, that list had only disappeared for a time. The governors, having provided us to a head-master with a wise boldness, determined that in consideration of the higher scale of charges there should be a correspondingly high qualification in the staff of teachers. He had been agreeably surprised to find so general and genial a sympathy in the prosperity of this school, to which the present gathering bore emphatic testimony, and still less was he prepared to find difficulties which he had anticipated so calmly and readily dissipated. Had the number of boys been in the first three terms thirty, forty, and fifty, he should have been satisfied with the progress, but their numbers had been thirty-four in the first term, fifty-six in the second, and now seventy-one. The increase of pupils led them to expect that the institution would pay during the first twelvemonth. This increase did not arise from any reduction in the scale of charges, which had, on the contrary, been increased. He did not despair of again establishing for this school a character for sound scholarship and high moral conduct. (Applause.)

The toasts which followed were—"The Examiners," acknowledged by Professor Newnham; "The Old Boys," to which JAMES CARTER, Esq., responded, remarking that it was fifty-six years since he left that school as a pupil, and above sixty years since he entered it; "The Chairman," proposed by Dr. STORER; and "The Ladies," for whom the Rev. J. SMADMORE returned thanks.

The visitors then dispersed themselves about the grounds, the hour having arrived for the annual meeting of the life governors, the proceedings at which were of a very satisfactory character.

THE ROMAN COUNCIL.

The Tablet is assured that there is no authority whatever for the statement published in the *Memorial Diplomatique*, and copied into all the journals of Europe, that the Council is to be prorogued on the 1st July, and that the definition will be promulgated on St. Peter's Day. If the *Tablet* is correctly informed, there will be no formal prorogation.

The Roman correspondent of the *Memorial Diplomatique* gives details respecting the sitting of the 3rd of June. The crowd which surrounded the Basilica on that day was, he says, very great, and as Monseigneur Maret was known to be about to speak an extraordinary interest was apparent. Towards noon confused noises were heard to proceed from the Council-hall, which were continued until the end of the sitting. When the prelates left the hall they were all labouring under great excitement. Rumours of all sorts immediately became current, but the fact appeared to be that the great heat which had set in, added to the fatigue of almost daily sittings, had determined a majority of the prelates to put in force the new provision for abridging the discussion upon the *Schemata*, thinking that as sixty speakers had already been heard, it was time to close the debate, especially as each bishop had already made known the nature of the vote which he was disposed to give when the formula of the definition of Infallibility should be submitted to the Council. A demand to close the general discussion was therefore presented, subscribed by 160 bishops, belonging to the minority as well as to the majority in the Council. Cardinal Billo, who presided, could not decline to submit this proposition to the vote, and it was adopted by a very great majority. Thus far, everything had been done regularly, according to the mode of proceeding in Parliamentary assemblies. Unfortunately, however, the speech of Monseigneur Maret provoked repeated

interruptions, which led certain prelates to regard the demand for closing the discussion as a pre-arranged scheme on the part of the Infallibilists. The French prelates were very much concerned at this proceeding, and they induced the German and Hungarian bishops to unite with them in protesting against the conclusion of the discussion. Afterwards some of them quitted the Council-hall, and repaired to the French Embassy, where they remained a long time in conference with M. de Bonneville.

On the evening of the 8th an enormous crowd assembled at St. Peter's to witness the descent from the Vatican by the Scala Regia of the Pope and cardinals, attended by all the Fathers of the Council, to chant in chorus the Litanies of the Saints, imploring the light of the Holy Spirit for the definition of the great dogma. At the same time, all the great confraternities of Rome and all the religious orders severally went in procession for this same purpose to the churches of the Lateran, St. Peter, St. Mary Maggiore, St. Carlo al Corso, St. Andrea della Valle, St. Mary in Vallicella, the Gesù, and the Pantheon. Every hole and corner of Rome swarmed with ecclesiastics arrayed in all the colours of the rainbow; on every side rose pious chants; and every church put forth the utmost power of its bells. This jubilee lasted a week.

The *New Prussian (Cross) Gazette* says that the statement of the Berlin correspondent of a London newspaper respecting fresh communications from Count Arnim, the Prussian Minister at Rome, to Cardinal Antonelli, is completely without foundation.

The *Record* views the probable elevation of Dr. J. Jowett to the Mastership of Balliol as another stage in the religious revolution of our Universities.

THE MARQUIS OF BUTE AND THE ROMISH CHURCH.—The *John Bull* hears, on good authority, that there is every probability of the Marquis of Bute returning to the Anglican Church. The information is obtained from the same quarter as that from which the *John Bull* obtained the tidings, which it was the first to announce, of his accession to Rome.

THE COMING CENSUS.—The General Assembly of the Scotch Free Church has presented a memorial to the Home Secretary asking that means may be taken to get a strictly accurate account of the number of adherents to each of the religious denominations in the United Kingdom, information in regard to education, the houses of the people, the number of hotels, public-houses, and as to the actual numbers of those speaking respectively the Gaelic, the Irish, and the Welsh languages.

THE "FREE" CHURCH OF ENGLAND MOVEMENT IN SUSSEX.—Lord Ebury and several members of both Houses of Parliament have sent letters of sympathy and congratulation to the promoters of the project now being carried out at "Barns Green" by the erection of a "Free" church where the revised Prayer-book which excludes the Athanasian Creed will be used. At present there is no place of worship whatever nor even a schoolroom nearer than Itchingfield. The freehold site has been given by Mr. Worth, who has recently taken possession of an estate near the village.

UNIVERSITY TESTS.—A meeting of graduates of the University of Oxford favourable to the Government University Tests Bill, was held in the Common Room of Balliol College on Saturday, the 4th inst., to consider the amendments to the bill proposed in the House of Commons, Professor Jowett in the chair. The question chiefly discussed was the proviso in the bill by which heads of colleges are exempted from its operation. The following resolution, moved by Sir B. C. Brodie, was passed:—"As there appears to be some misapprehension about the opinion of graduates of the University, who desire the abolition of tests, as to the question of excepting heads of colleges from such abolition, this meeting resolves to circulate for signature the following memorial to Mr. Gladstone, and to request the Dean of Christ Church, as the chairman of the former meeting, to present it to Mr. Gladstone, conveying at the same time their respectful thanks to the Government for having taken up the question of the abolition of University Tests." Memorial:—"The undersigned Fellows of Colleges and resident graduates of the University of Oxford are of opinion that the headships of colleges ought to be included in the operation of the Government Bill for the Abolition of Tests." The Dean of Christ Church, who was present at an adjourned meeting on Tuesday, June 7th, consented to present the memorial to Mr. Gladstone. The memorial, which has been signed by more than sixty persons, has already been forwarded.

Religious and Denominational News.

The Rev. Newman Hall, in concurrence with the desire of the elders of the Surrey Chapel, has just declined an invitation to a church at Chicago with a salary of 10,000 dols. (about 1,600£.).

The Rev. P. O. Barker, M.A., LL.B., late of Chester, has accepted the unanimous invitation of the Rotherham Congregational Church, and commenced his ministry at Rotherham on Sunday, May 29.

DARLINGTON.—On Thursday, June 9, the foundation-stone of a new chapel in connection with the Baptist denomination was laid at Darlington. The Rev. T. F. Pearce gave out a hymn and read an appropriate portion of Scripture. The Rev. W. Hanson offered prayer; after which the Rev. W. T. Grant gave a short history of the church, and presented J. B. Pease, Esq., with a mallet and silver trowel with which to lay the stone. After the laying of the stone, addresses were given by Mr. Pease, and

the Rev. W. Walters of Newcastle. The chapel, which will be a handsome structure, is to seat about 700 persons.

ACTON.—The memorial stone of a new Congregational Chapel at Acton was laid on Thursday by Mr. Henry Wright, J.P., of Kensington. The building, which will be of Gothic design, when completed, will seat on the ground floor 500 people. The estimated cost is about 4,500£., half of which has already been promised, and among the donors is Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P., for 500£., and Mr. Charles Walton, for a similar amount.

BATTERSEA.—The Baptists worshipping at York-road, Battersea, under the pastorate of the Rev. Mr. Soule, have long required increased accommodation, towards the accomplishment of which the foundation-stone of a new building was laid on the site of the old one, by General Sir G. Pollock, G.C.B., on Wednesday afternoon, June 8. After singing and prayer, the Rev. Mr. Soule addressed a large and respectable audience in a tent-building, saying that it was with no ordinary feelings that he met them on that occasion, when they met to increase their responsibilities. In a report read by Mr. H. N. Soule, Secretary to the building committee and son of the minister, it was stated that the present pastor accepted the pastorate in the year 1837, and has continued it to the present time, during which period the minister and his flock had worked harmoniously together. They had raised the sum of 5,000£. for this building, to be placed in trust for the benefit of future generations. It is estimated to hold 900 persons, with ample provision for free seats, the architecture (Romanesque) being under the care of Mr. E. C. Robins, and the cost to be about 4,000£. General Sir George Pollock then laid the cornerstone, and simply declared the work done. Short addresses were delivered by the Rev. D. Kattner and others, after which the company adjourned to the Grove Schoolroom, and held a tea-meeting.

THE FORTHCOMING RELIGIOUS CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK.—A correspondent of the *Scotsman* states that Her Majesty has expressed to the Duchess of Sutherland the deep interest with which she regards the approaching Protestant Conference in New York. This expression of the Queen's feeling with respect to the religious and international aspects of the American meeting was conveyed in a private letter to the duchess. The conference will open on the 22nd of September, and close on the 2nd of October. Professor Tholuck, of Halle, Rev. Eugene Berrier, of France; Professor Revel, of Florence; Bishop Martensen, of Copenhagen; and Dean Kind, of the Grisons, will read papers on the state of religion in their respective countries. Dr. Stoughton is to speak on the religious, spiritual, and ecclesiastical relations between the United States and the British Empire; Dr. James McCosh, on materialism and positivism; Dr. John Cairns, on modern infidelity; Mr. Charles Reed, M.P., on family religion; Dr. Davis, on Christianity and the press; Dr. de Pressensé, of Paris, on the Ecumenical Council; the Hon. W. M. Evarts, on legislation upon moral questions; Professor Woolsey, of Yale College, on constitution and government in the United States as related to religion; Count Bernstorff, on missions in Germany; the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, on war and its prevention; and Count de Gasparin, on Christian philosophy. Lord Shaftesbury is also down for a paper, but it is not thought likely he will cross the Atlantic.

SALFORD.—The completion of the new lecture-hall and schools in connection with the Richmond Congregational Church, Brompton-road, was celebrated by a tea-meeting on Monday week. The new lecture-hall has been erected to supply a want that has long been felt by the friends of the place; and it is intended for the use and benefit of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, irrespective of creed or party. The hall is handsome and commodious, lofty, and well-lighted, will seat about 400 persons, and has, moreover, a handsome gallery. At the sides of the hall are nine class-rooms for the use of the male and female adult classes of the Sunday-school, the present school being overcrowded. The new infant-school room is a fine room about 42ft. by 26ft., and the classes meeting therein number about 200. Including the Sunday-school, there are about 650 scholars altogether connected with the church, the adult class numbering about 200 of these. After tea the company repaired to the new lecture-hall. Sir James Watts occupied the chair, and was supported on the platform by the Rev. D. J. Hamer, pastor of the church, T. Davies, Esq. (mayor), Mr. James Bancroft, and other gentlemen. Mr. James Bancroft, who was called upon to give an account of the cost of the building, stated that its entire cost would amount to upwards of 3,500£.—perhaps it might be 3,600£.—towards which they had had subscribed 2,400£. There had long been felt a necessity for a building which would meet the intellectual and spiritual requirements of the people residing in that vicinity, and they had therefore erected the schools on the broadest possible scale, intending them for the good of the whole of the people of the locality who would accept their invitation to make use of them. There was room enough for all earnest Christian workers in this large and important borough without coming into collision; and he frequently thought that the less they heard of matters of religious difference and the more they heard of the great points of Christian unity, the better it would be for them individually and collectively. Mr. Henry Lee, Mr. Thomas Davies, &c., congratulated the meeting on the noble suite of buildings they now possessed. Mr. Lee said, twenty-five years had passed since that church was erected, out of which time he had spent twenty-one years of labour and enjoyment amongst them, twenty-one years of laying the foundation of

those principles which had enabled him to gain the respect of gentlemen like their chairman and others, whose friendship he highly valued. He attributed his past prosperity and happiness through life, as well as his present position, to an institution which he valued more highly than any other—the Sabbath-school. After a few other short addresses, the proceedings were closed with the customary votes of thanks.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION.

—In celebration of the anniversary meeting (the 45th) of this body a public entertainment, in the shape of a collation, was given on Thursday at the Crystal Palace. Mr. W. C. Venning, the treasurer of the association, presided, in the absence of Mr. Sharp, the president, and in proposing the sentiment "Civil and Religious Liberty all the world over," the old sentiment of the association, which he rejoiced, was now extended to the claim of "civil and religious equality all the world over,"—remarked that this sentiment embodied the society's work for the last forty-five years—viz., the cause of civil and religious liberty, for the promotion of which the association was founded, and in the accomplishment of which it was now triumphing. In all countries, except Rome, this principle was now admitted. In Germany, in Italy, and now in Spain, it was universally acknowledged. Sir J. Bowring (whose decoration of the Spanish Order of Isabella had been referred to by the chairman, with a hope that it would induce him rather to propagate more extensively that Catholic spirit he had always acted upon than the Catholic opinions of Isabella of Spain), referred in terms of congratulation to the spirit of true religion which was working in India, and driving out the superstitions of Hindooism. The Baboo Chunder Sen, whose health Sir J. Bowring had, in his concluding sentence, proposed, spoke in response, and said that what had kept India down was idolatry and caste, which, thank God, were now being rapidly abolished. (Hear, hear.) This work of freedom was owing to English education, and the many Indians, female as well as male, who attended the Theistic chapels proved the extent to which the Indian people had already severed themselves from caste. He spoke with satisfaction of the extent to which Dr. Channing's works were now being circulated in India, and expressed a hope that his country would ever be spared from any system of antiquated and partial dogmas by which men and peoples were cut-off on the ground of pre-election, or any other narrow-minded and un-Christian doctrine. "The British and Foreign Unitarian Association," "The Health of the Rev. W. H. Crosskey, the preacher of the Anniversary Sermon," "Prosperity to the Schools and Colleges of the Society," "The House of Commons," and other appropriate toasts were given, and duly responded to.

Correspondence.

THE GAME LAWS.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR.—The remarks you have made in your recent article on the Game Laws, have led me to think that much misapprehension exists as to the effect of these statutes.

I am the owner and occupier of a small estate in a game neighbourhood; and though, as a magistrate, I have witnessed the practical operation of these laws for nearly thirty years, I have failed to discover that they afford any "premium to poaching"—or that they are more "demoralising" than any other penal statute for the punishment of any other class of offenders. I have been a party to several convictions under what you term "the iniquitous Act of 1862." It has no doubt been a "terror to evil-doers," but I have yet to learn that any honest man has suffered, or that any injustice has been done; unless the apprehension and conviction of notorious offenders is to be considered an injustice. It is the breach of these enactments, and not the enactments themselves, that affect the "morals of our rural population."

Although I readily admit the Game Laws are capable of improvement, I do not feel the force of the argument that "they are the means of restricting the supply of food"; for whilst it cannot be denied that hares and rabbits do, to a certain extent, diminish the growth of corn, they afford a very large amount of animal food for the use of the public. Nor do I believe the operation of these laws is so "cruel and injurious" to the tenant farmers as you would lead the public to suppose. Farmers, almost without exception, are fond of sport, and a large number take out an annual licence for this purpose. The poacher has not a more determined enemy than the tenant farmer, who will do all in his power to secure his conviction; and if you were to poll all the farmers in Norfolk you would find an overwhelming majority in favour of the Game Laws as they now exist, in preference to the proposition of the hon. member for Leicester to abolish them altogether, and to allow the poacher free access to their lands by day and by night without molestation. This would indeed be a "premium to the poacher" which he would soon turn to a profitable account. I can scarcely imagine any hon. member so blind to the legitimate rights of property as to propose a total repeal of these enactments without the substitution of a stringent and summary law of trespass, which, as far as the poacher himself is concerned, would be worse than the present Game Laws.

It is quite true that Farmers' Clubs have universally denounced the over preservation of ground game, but not the "rights of the landlord," which are quite independent of the Game Laws. The preservation of game, within due limits, is not the farmer's grievance, and until the modern system of *battue* shooting was introduced, little complaint was heard. It is, however, patent to everybody that what are called game farms are let at a rental considerably below the market value. It is no doubt annoying to a tenant to witness even the partial destruction of his crops by game, but he has received compensation in the form of reduced rent. The Prince of Wales has lately hired Lord Suffield's shooting at a rental of some 2000*l.* a year. A far larger amount of game has been reared on the Gunton Estate for the benefit of the Prince than is consistent with the interest of the tenants; but, notwithstanding this, I have no doubt they will be glad to renew their leases on the same terms; and so long as farmers will continue to hire highly preserved game farms, with their eyes open, there is but little ground for sympathy.

Pass an Act of Parliament to take hares and rabbits out of the protection of the game laws—call them "vermin" if you please. "Give the occupier the right of property over the game which subsists on the land he cultivates." This, I apprehend, would in no way improve his condition. *He has this right by law already*: but he voluntarily surrenders it to his landlord. It is a part of his contract, and I believe it will take stronger arguments than have yet been adduced to persuade Parliament to render such contracts invalid. But should it ever become the law of the land, the landlord would still have a verbal understanding with his tenant to the same effect, or he would refuse to grant a lease, which would be far more injurious to the tenant than any damage that the game could do.

Blackstone says that an Act of Parliament is omnipotent; but there are nevertheless questions which an Act of Parliament is impotent to deal with. This question, as between landlord and tenant, is one, and I think Mr. Sturt is right in saying that any beneficial change in these laws "must be brought about by social and moral agencies" and not by Acts of Parliament, which will only prove a "mockery, a delusion, and a snare."

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

W. H. COZENS-HARDY,
Letheringsett Hall, Norfolk, 6th June, 1870.

THE BRISTOL ELECTION PETITION AND THE BALLOT.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR.—Some pseudo-Liberal papers, which have hitherto been opponents of the Ballot, and now give it a very half-hearted support, are chuckling over what they are pleased to call the failure of the Ballot to prevent bribery, proved, as they say, by the fact that bribes were given at the test ballot at Bristol, and no doubt this fallacy will be triumphantly brought forward in Parliament by the enemies of free and protected voting. I shall be glad, therefore, if you will allow me space to point out—

1st. That when the habit of corruption is rooted in a constituency, it cannot be expected to die out at once. Before that takes place, bribees must have a few years' experience of the uselessness of bribery where there is secret voting.

2nd. That although it is proved that money was given to secure votes at the Test Ballot, there is no proof that the votes given at the Ballot, were given to those that bought them, on the contrary, they may have been given to another candidate.

3rd. That the voting at Bristol was not a perfect example of an election by ballot. Behind the ballot there was the poll with its record against every man how he voted, from which the bribees might guess, though they could not know any more than the bribed voter could prove, that the votes bought for the ballot were then given to those that bought them. At an election under Lord Hartington's Bill this security would be wanting.

4. One thing is clearly disproved by the Bristol case, i.e., the old fallacy so often urged by Lord Palmerston and others, that if you have the Ballot you can have no inquiry into bribery. The Bristol case shows that bribery can be inquiry into and proved as easily in cases of election by ballot as in elections by open voting. The only thing that cannot be proved is that the bribees got the votes they buy, which for the purposes of an election trial is unnecessary.

5. The corrupt practices at Bristol and several Irish boroughs, and the complaints of undue influence in Suffolk, prove how erroneous is the notion advocated in a leader in the *Daily Telegraph* that the "necessity of deciding upon an effectual cure for the worst evils of our electoral system is not urgent and can stand over." Elections are constantly occurring, and under open voting corruption is spreading into the new element in the constituencies. The Ballot, therefore, is a measure of pressing importance.

Yours faithfully,
EDWARD C. WHITEHURST.

June 11, 1870.

THE EDUCATION BILL AND "THE RELIGIOUS DIFFICULTY."

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR.—As several suggestions have been made with the

view of improving the Education Bill of the present Government, perhaps you will allow me to add the following to the number, and which I will place before you as briefly as I can.

The friends of education are for the most part divided into two great sections—those who are in favour of denominational schools, and those who are anxious they should be secular—each of whom are strenuously contending for one general system, as conformable as possible, of course, to their own views. From these facts I am led to the conclusion that any Education Bill must of necessity be, for the present at least, a compromise.

Before I proceed to explain the nature of the compromise which I think may be accepted, I will just observe that I do not think it is quite fair towards the present Government to blame them for not chalking out a scheme which would dispose of the religious difficulty in a manner satisfactory to the advocates of non-denominational and secular schools, particularly as a very large number of denominational schools have been already built, towards which considerable sums of money have been contributed by their promoters, with the express understanding that Government would assist them with the annual grants; and I am not surprised to find that the promoters of these schools consider it would amount almost to a breach of faith on the part of the Government to withhold now those annual grants, which they calculated upon receiving when such schools were established. I must acknowledge that I am decidedly in favour of secular schools, as I believe the activity and zeal of the religious public would provide religious instruction in their own way, and of better quality, were the business of the schoolmaster confined within its own limits—and I should rejoice to see one really national class of schools established throughout the country, which all Her Majesty's subjects, of all or of no creed, could unite in assisting, and where the children of our mechanics and labourers, &c., would receive the elements of their education together. The national and social advantages which would arise from such a system would be immense. Owing, however, to our peculiar circumstances in connection with existing schools, I fear such cannot be expected at present. It therefore appears to me that, however desirable it would be to have but one class of elementary schools, we must submit to a compromise of some kind, for a time at least—and this is admitted by the framers of the bill as it originally stood, by the amendments which are now on the books of the House of Commons, as well as by all the proceedings of both the Birmingham League and the Manchester Union. They are all based upon the assumption that the bill must be a compromise. What the provisions of an Education Bill proposed by the present Government might have been were there no state-supported schools in existence, it is perhaps not very difficult to determine. They would most likely leave the religious public to provide that education which they consider so important for the present and future well-being of the rising generation—confining the schoolmaster simply to what may be necessary to qualify his scholars for the discharge of their duties as subjects of the realm. But we have not to deal with the question as it might have arisen under different circumstances, but as it is affected by previous engagements, as well as by existing institutions—and we are therefore led to consider what fair and reasonable compromise can be arrived at, which will not be unjust on the one hand of the promoters of existing schools, and which will upon the other secure to every parish or district school of a thoroughly national character.

I will, therefore, with your permission, propose the following as another basis of compromise:—

The bill should acknowledge two classes of schools—the existing State-supported schools, and those created by the Act itself. It should therefore provide—

I. That the existing schools shall continue as long as such may be agreeable to their promoters, and enjoy their present annual grants, but upon existing conditions only, and subject to the following amendments which have been proposed by the Government:—

"1. No child shall be required, as a condition of being admitted into or continuing in the school, to attend or abstain from attending any Sunday-school or any place of religious worship, or any religious observance, or any instruction in religious subjects in the school or elsewhere.

"2. The time or times during which any religious observance is practised, or instruction in religious subjects is given, at any meeting of the school, shall be either at the beginning or at the end, or at the beginning and the end, of such meeting, and shall be inserted in time-table to be approved by the Education Department, and to be kept permanently and conspicuously affixed in every schoolroom; and any scholar may be withdrawn by his parent from such observance or instruction without forfeiting any of the other benefits of the school.

"3. The school shall be open at all times to the inspection of any of Her Majesty's inspectors, so; however, that it shall be no part of the duties of such inspectors to inquire into any instruction on religious subjects given at such school, or to examine any scholar therein in religious knowledge, or in any religious subject or book."

II. That all schools which are brought into existence

by the present Education Bill shall be secular, and that the provisions of the bill shall apply to secular schools only.

III. That all further grants towards building denominational schools shall cease upon the passing of this Act, and that the Committee of Council be only empowered to make their present annual grants to those schools which may be receiving such grants, or be in the course of erection, at the passing of this Act.

IV. That any denominational school may at any time, with the consent of the majority of its governing body, be transferred to the school board of the parish or district in which it is situated. But from that time forward no religious instruction can be given in such school; and it shall be dealt with in every respect as if it had been brought into existence by the present Education Bill, and shall enjoy all the privileges and advantages arising therefrom.

The above changes are such as I venture to submit may be made with advantage in the present bill, and which I think would produce satisfactory results. The denominational and secular schools would, under some such arrangement, be placed in competition, and the friends of both would in a few years be able to arrive at a satisfactory solution of their present difficulties. I am not sanguine enough to suppose that all denominational schools would become secular; but whenever the managers of such schools actually found they could accept the secular system, they would be empowered to do so; and, if upon the other hand, it was found by experience that the secular system disappointed its advocates, the House of Commons could be applied to for conditions upon which the religious element might be added to the new schools.

I do not for a moment suppose the plan which I have explained will be satisfactory to all; but I think it is safe, and would ultimately end in a peaceful, and what is more important, in a voluntary settlement of the difficulties arising out of the "religious" question with which we are now beset.

Although I have not touched several points upon which there is a considerable difference of opinion also, I will venture to suggest that in addition to the other amendments proposed by the Government, a further step in the same direction may be made, and which would be fair and satisfactory, by causing the establishment of School Boards to be immediate and general, and by making attendance at school compulsory in all cases.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
THOMAS GEE.

Denbigh, June 9, 1870.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

On Monday the House of Lords reassembled after the Whitsuntide recess.

Lord GRANVILLE, yielding to the appeal of Lord SALISBURY, reluctantly agreed to postpone the committee on the Irish Land Bill until Thursday, the 23rd inst.

The Attorneys' and Solicitors' Remuneration Bill passed through committee after a brief conversation, in which the Law Lords took part, on the necessity of giving clients adequate protection in regard to agreements made with their solicitors.

LAW REFORMS.

On the report of the High Court of Justice Bill, the Lord CHANCELLOR explained the concessions he was willing to make in order to meet the views of the opponents of the bill. It was impossible to bring the new courts into operation until the close of 1871, and, instead of leaving the code of procedure to be settled by the Privy Council, he now proposed that the rules and regulations of the various courts should be drawn up by and under the supervision of the Lord Chancellor for the purpose of being submitted to Parliament. The present bill might be passed during the present session, but it would not come into operation until the code of procedure had received the sanction of Parliament. The new courts, he intimated, might in this manner come into operation by Michaelmas Term next year. He was also willing to bring the Appellate Jurisdiction within the general judicature system, and to make it a branch of the High Court of Justice. It was the intention of the Government to appoint a Lord Justice of Appeal in the place of the late Lord Justice Selwyn, subject to the changes carried out by the bill. He had struck out the clauses relative to the abolition of the Home Circuit.

Lord CAIRNS expressed his satisfaction with the amendments, and forbore to press his motion against the further progress of the bill. Lord WESTBURY said that a few pages would embrace all the rules which would require the sanction of Parliament. The report, with the Lord Chancellor's amendments, was received, and the bill was ordered to be read a third time on Friday.

The Appellate Jurisdiction Bill also passed through committee, after explanations had been given by the Lord Chancellor as to the salaries and duties of the Judges of the Court of Appeal.

Lord STRATHEDEN called attention to the want of some arbitrating power when two Peers rose to speak at the same time, and moved that the Lord CHANCELLOR (or the Chairman of Committees when the House was in committee) should name the Peer who should proceed, unless the House should otherwise

order. A brief discussion ensued, in which Lords Salisbury and Clarendon favoured the motion, while Lord Granville and the Duke of Richmond thought that no sufficient case had been made out for altering the present practice. The LORD CHANCELLOR also opposed the motion, and pointed out the difference between the holder of the Great Seal and the Speaker of the House of Commons in their relations to the assemblies over which they preside. Lord STRATHEDEN appeared disposed to go to a division, but was dissuaded by Lord Salisbury, and the motion was then withdrawn.

Their Lordships adjourned at twenty-five minutes to eight o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The House of Commons began the third period in the life of the session on Thursday. There was a very full attendance, and Mr. Disraeli was back in his old place, looking very well. Lord Mahon took his seat for East Suffolk. The questions put were of little importance beyond one which elicited a reply that the Foreign Office had received communications from the Courts of France and Russia to the effect that they believed that the existing Greek constitution was totally unsuited to the condition of the nation.

THE BUDGET.

In committee upon the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill, Mr. CRAWFORD raised a long discussion upon a resolution, with a view to a provision that in certain cases drawback should be allowed upon duty-paid sugar, in consequence of the reduction in tax. In his argument in support of this concession, Mr. CRAWFORD was supported by many members representing commercial constituencies. Mr. LOWE, however, declined to admit the principle that dealers were entitled to drawbacks upon their stocks, but as the present case was peculiar, the Treasury were willing to consider the cases of dealers that "fell within the equity" of the cases of refiners and manufacturers. Mr. CARDWELL also added that if the honourable gentlemen who had taken an interest in the measure were not satisfied with the assurances given, the committee should not be closed that evening. On this all objections were withdrawn, and Mr. CRAWFORD abstained from snatching what Mr. GLADSTONE called "a guilty triumph." The House then went into committee, when such extreme hostility was displayed against the clause in the Income Tax Bill, which compelled employers to make a return to the Commissioners of all salaries paid to those in their employ liable to income-tax that the clause was withdrawn. Mr. GREGORY proposed certain exemptions to the duty on agricultural horses, which were supported by the SPEAKER, who addressed the committee in his official robes, and eventually Mr. Gregory's proposal was accepted by a majority of 4—49 to 46. Mr. GLADSTONE, who just then returned to the House, said it would be the duty of the Government after the decision the House had just come to consider what was their duty in regard to the extension of the exemption. The House Duty Bill passed through committee.

Mr. HERMON called attention to the circumstances under which the 80th Regiment was recently sent from Fleetwood to Dublin, and other military topics engaged the House for a short time.

Sir Henry HOARE divided against the vote for the yeomanry force, but was defeated by 104—124 to 20. Progress was then reported by Mr. DODSON, and the House adjourned at ten minutes past one.

On Friday a question from Mr. FOWLER elicited that communications had taken place between the English and French Governments with a view to the cession of Gambia, which, according to Mr. MONSERR, contains a European population of forty-seven. The transfer to France, however, would not be undertaken without the full consent of Parliament.

On the motion for going into Supply, Mr. MONK complained that the Canadian Government had mixed a loan raised by a guarantee in this country under the Canada Railway Loan Act of 1867 for the sole purpose of the railway with the general revenues of the Dominion. Mr. MONSERR's reply was in substance that the Dominion had duly set aside a sum for the construction of the railway, and had therefore fulfilled all its contract with this country. The discussion was brought to a close by the withdrawal of the resolution which had been moved.

COUNTY GOVERNMENT.

Mr. CAMPBELL brought forward a proposition which went to apply the principle of representation to the local Government and financial administration of counties. The proposition, so far as it disclosed a plan worked out in a long speech, was a very wide one, and comprehended England, Scotland, and Ireland in its scope. Mr. BRUCE, however, utterly opposed it, as involving a total revolution in our system of local administration. Nevertheless, he admitted that the principle of representation in county administration had been acknowledged by the Government, and that they had undertaken to try and deal with it as soon as a committee now sitting had reported. On a division, after Sir W. GALLWEY had spoken for, and Mr. WILSON-PATTERSON somewhat warmly against it, the motion was rejected by 61 to 39.

THE COINING OF MONEY.

Mr. MUNZ then called attention to Mr. Lowe's plan for using our own Mint for coining money for foreign Powers, and complained much of the injurious effect of the competition of Government with commercial undertakings, and how severely it affected the tax-payers; and he was only prevented by a division having already been taken on the motion for going into Supply from asking the House to agree to

a resolution embodying his views. Mr. WHEELHOUSE entirely supported Mr. MUNZ, while Mr. M. CHAMBERS was as strongly against him, inveighing loudly against contractors, and asserting boldly that the manufacturing class had not obtained and did not deserve the confidence of either the public or contractors. The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER confined his answer to what Mr. MUNZ had said, maintaining, for his own part, that he would have been glad if the process of coining could have been carried on by contract, but when he found that to be impossible, he saw no manner of objection to the Mint undertaking contracts for foreign Governments, in order that the plant and workmen of the establishment might be kept as fully employed as possible.

The House then passed to the consideration of the case of Admiral Cooper Key, which was brought forward by Sir J. D. HAY, and Mr. CHILDERS fully explained why the gallant admiral had been removed from Portsmouth to Malta, but declined to say why the Government had put him second in command in the Mediterranean.

THE GAME LAWS IN SCOTLAND.

Mr. LOCH, at a later period of the evening, brought on a long-looked-for discussion on the present operation of the Game Laws, especially with regard to Scotland, a subject on which many members spoke, and on which nearly all expressed diverse opinions. In the end, Mr. BRUCE, on behalf of the Government, expressed a strong conviction that no such investigation as a Select Committee of Inquiry was needed, and undertook that the second reading of the Lord Advocate's bill on the subject should be taken at as early a day as possible. The other orders were then disposed of, and the House adjourned at five minutes after one.

On Monday, in reply to Mr. GRIEVE, Mr. ORTWAY admitted that little progress had been made in the negotiation of the Treaty of Commerce with Spain.

Mr. VERNON HARcourt asked the Solicitor-General whether a charter had been granted by the Crown incorporating a new college called Keble College; if so, whether by such incorporation the Keble College would come within the operation of the bill now depending for the repeal of religious tests in the Universities; and whether there would be any objection to lay a copy of such charter upon the table of the House.

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL said it would be seen that the question of the hon. and learned member was threshed. In answer to the first and the last part of the question, he begged to state that he had every reason to believe that it was true that a charter had been granted to Keble College, and he saw no objection whatever to laying that charter upon the table of the House. It was at present, however, accessible to all who were desirous of ascertaining its contents. He had some difficulty in replying to the second part of the question, but his impression was that as Keble College was now a college having a charter it would be a subsisting college within the meaning of the bill.

THE EDUCATION BILL.

Lord R. MONTAGU asked when this bill would be taken, and whether the Government was inclined to proceed with it from day to day by resorting to morning sittings.

Mr. GLADSTONE said the noble lord had only anticipated a proposal he was about to make. He believed the importance of the measure, coupled with the period of the session, would justify his asking the House to commence morning sittings on Friday next, to be devoted especially to the Education Bill. It was the intention of the Government to proceed with the measure without interruption as far as possible.

UNIVERSITY TESTS BILL.

The House went into committee on this bill. Clause 1 was agreed to.

On Clause 2,

Lord E. FITZMAURICE moved to include the heads of colleges, at present excluded, within the provisions of the bill. Though opinions on the subject in the Universities were divided, he thought he was justified in saying that the real feeling of those who represented the Liberal party in that University was not in favour of excluding heads of houses from the operation of the bill. But, however this might be, it was the duty of the House of Commons to consider the feeling of the country at large on the subject, and also to look at the practical results of this omission. It would perpetuate those religious differences which it was the object of the bill to destroy, and render the heads of colleges continual objects of suspicion.

Mr. GLADSTONE suggested that the question be postponed till the report. The grounds of his application were these:—A deputation of the Liberal party in the Universities came to London and represented to him that the exclusion of the heads of houses was a part of their plan. The gentleman who represented Oxford did not share in that view, but, willing to promote unity, and on other grounds extrinsic to the merits of the question, they concurred in the request made by Cambridge, and sent to him a draft of a bill, in which the heads of colleges were excluded. But on Saturday morning the Government received, for the first time, a representation, signed by many eminent members of the University, quite irrespective of the understanding referred to, stating

that they wished for the amendment now suggested by the noble lord. Under those circumstances, he had made a communication to Professor Jowett, to know in what position they stood, and what was the attitude of the University of Oxford in respect to it, and in a few days they would better know the sentiments of that body, and would be able to signify whether they could accede to the amendment or not.

Sir M. BEACH said that, from the statement of the right hon. gentleman, it would appear that the Government had no mind of its own, but was obliged to refer to Professor Jowett. He had always been opposed to the bill, and considered the reservation of the heads of houses an important matter; the heads of houses appointed the tutors, and it would be a very invidious thing to call on a Nonconformist to appoint a Church of England tutor to give religious instruction. There was another important matter. The heads of houses were to preside at the religious worship, and he wanted to know whether the form of worship was to be at one time Unitarian, at another Independent, at a third Baptist, and at a fourth Church of England, in accordance with the particular tenets of the head of the House. The danger would be that the chapel would be altogether done away with, or that the Divine worship therein would be reduced to a few meaningless forms of prayer made as colourless as possible, in order to prevent offence being taken at them by anybody. On these grounds, and believing that the insertion of the words would seriously injure religious instruction in the Universities, he hoped that the Government would not agree to the amendment.

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL protested against the statement that the Government were merely the registrars of the extreme opinions of the Oxford Liberals. They had introduced the present clause into the bill, not at the bidding of the extreme Oxford Liberals, but of the moderate Cambridge Reformers. ("Hear," and a laugh.) The hon. baronet considered that it was desirable to maintain the reservation with regard to the heads of colleges, because the appointment of tutors rested with them, but did he mean to suppose that the restriction was to be made use of to defeat the very object of the bill, and that if a large number of persons in a college were eminently qualified to be tutors, they should, because they did not happen to be members of the Church of England, and for no other reason, be precluded from filling such positions. There could be no better argument adduced than that to lead hon. members on the Liberal side of the House to the conclusion that the restriction was one which ought not to be maintained. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. MOWBRAY thought the interpretation which had been put by his hon. friend near him on the language used by the Prime Minister was the only interpretation of which it was capable. The right hon. gentleman had almost apologised for having inserted the reservation in the clause, and added that before he could do anything further in the matter he must consult Mr. Jowett. (Mr. Gladstone: "No, no.") He had certainly understood the right hon. gentleman to say that he must wait to receive the instructions of the extreme Liberals as to the course he should take. (Hear, hear.) He should like, he might add, to know whether the present movement was one which originated with the University itself, or whether it had not reference to a certain communication with London on Saturday, the 4th of June. (Hear, hear.) For his own part he did not believe that it had originated with the University.

Lord J. MANNERS understood the Solicitor-General to have stated that the reservation in the clause was inserted to meet the views of the moderate Cambridge Reformers, and should suggest that they too, as well as the members of the University of Oxford referred to by the Prime Minister, should be communicated with before the Government arrived at a final decision on the point in question.

The amendment was then withdrawn, and the clause agreed to.

On Clause 3, Mr. STRAVERS complained that the objects set forth in the preamble of the bill could not be attained so long as words were embodied in the clause containing restrictions with respect to dignitaries in divinity. In Scotland—at all events, he could speak of Glasgow and Aberdeen—no condition was attached to the grant of divinity degrees, and any student could present himself for examination. He did not see why the English Universities should not be placed on the same footing, and also why they should not confer honorary degrees on distinguished theologians outside their own Church. Believing the measure to be incomplete, as long as these words remained, he begged to move the omission from the clause of the words, "other than a degree in divinity."

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL hoped that he was not wanting in liberality, but could not go to the extreme of liberality indicated by this amendment. It was essential to confine the divinity degrees in the Universities to some definite form of divinity, and to confer such degrees without a definite examination would be an impracticable proceeding, which would introduce the evils of religious controversy in the sharpest and most disagreeable form. The Universities were not debarred by this section from conferring honorary degrees in divinity upon distinguished theologians of other religious bodies, and in that case—he spoke, at least, of Oxford—the recipients of degrees had to sign no test. Dr. Chalmers and the Archbishop of Syria were among those upon whom honorary degrees in divinity had been conferred.

Mr. HADFIELD supported the amendment. If the thing were done without difficulty in Scotland, why should it not be done in England? There must be

in this country complete equality of religious rights and religious thought. The security of our institutions, and even of the Throne itself, depended upon the carrying out of the great principle which was involved in the amendment, and upon which he hoped to record his vote.

Mr. GLADSTONE wished to know up to what point this principle was to be carried. It was proposed that degrees in divinity should be given irrespective of the religious tenets held by the recipient. This, no doubt, was a great principle, but was it as good as great? It was not possible to draw a satisfactory distinction between degrees and offices. He was not speaking of honorary degrees. His hon. and learned friend had explained that part of the case, and the Universities were at liberty to confer such degrees without imposing any test. A degree was supposed to indicate the capacity of the person receiving it to teach, and the proposal of his hon. friends was that the University should declare, by giving degrees, the capacity of a man to teach theology, and then stop them from entering into offices where theology was to be taught. That was practically, as well as logically, an consequence which could not be defended. The University could not give degrees in theology, and afterwards say to the recipients, "We refuse to allow you to discharge this teaching duty." Parliament would place itself in a wholly false position if it called upon the Universities to separate capacity in the teaching of theology from the matter and doctrines to be taught, and if, after the teaching capacity of these persons had been affirmed by the Universities, the latter was compelled by law to refuse them all participation in the emoluments of teaching. His hon. friend (Mr. Hadfield) should have "the courage of his convictions," and assert his principle in a logical way by proposing to throw open all theological offices at the University. ("Hear, hear," from Mr. Hadfield.) His hon. friend was perfectly ready to do this. If, therefore, the Professorship of Divinity in Oxford became vacant, and Archbishop Manning should be disposed to accept that office, his hon. friend would be ready to see Archbishop Manning installed in it. (Laughter.) That was the principle asserted by his hon. friend. It was a great principle, no doubt, but he was disposed to question its goodness. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. MIAUL did not think the amendment had been sought for in any of the negotiations between the representatives of the Dissenters and those who had been most forward in promoting the bill. If, indeed, freedom of thought would be promoted by Dissenters taking degrees in divinity as taught by the Church of England, he should have thought it of great importance that they should claim liberty to take those degrees; but, instead of freedom of thought, they would have only restriction of thought, and would show themselves to be up to a certain standard of attainments in theological knowledge, that being of course the standard of the Church of England. While he thanked the hon. member for having brought forward the amendment, he thought it would be wise not to press it to a division.

Mr. TIPPING referred to the possibility of a man being honoured by the University and dishonoured by his own particular sect, as Dr. Davidson was shown the back door or the front door of his own church.

Dr. PLAYFAIR said the objection to granting degrees in divinity to persons who did not belong to the Established Church would be a valid objection if it were true that universities were to be considered as being in connection with the Church of England as they had been in the past. But the very object of the bill was to take the Universities out of that position, and to make them national universities; and if they were national universities, he could not conceive why those who took even degrees of divinity should be subjected to any particular test. For a long time in Scotland university degrees were connected with a test which made it necessary that those who took them should be members of the Church of Scotland; but this test had been abandoned, and now the degrees were given to those who could pass an examination in the evidences of Christianity—a test which prevented those who were atheists entering into the competition. If the amendment were pressed to a division he would vote for it.

Mr. RYLANDS, as a personal friend of Dr. Davidson, protested that nothing occurred in connection with him to justify the imputation that he was shown either the front door or the back door by the body to which he belonged.

Mr. TIPPING said he cast no imputation upon Dr. Davidson, but upon his sect.

Mr. WINTERBOTHAM hoped the amendment would not be pressed. He understood what was meant by secularising the Universities, but not what was meant by secularising religion. He did not understand on what principle a degree of divinity could be given to a man simply because he had an acquaintance with the reasons which could be urged in favour of a system without intimating whether he considered them of any value. A degree which attested a man's fitness to teach should not be given without any regard to a man's belief in the doctrines he was authorised to teach. Nothing could be gained to freedom of thought, or to truth, or any other good thing, by granting degrees of divinity to persons wholly irrespective of the divinity they professed.

Mr. RAIKES explained the operation of the clause as it affected the University of Cambridge in respect of the circumstance that it was not necessary for a man to take any degree other than the ordinary M.A. degree in order to become a Professor of that University.

Mr. HADFIELD spoke again in explanation of the question before the committee, which was whether or not an earnest man who did not belong to the Church of England should have an opportunity of

supporting the doctrinal articles of the Church; and he referred to the fact that the Bishop of Chester was taught theology so well by Dr. Pye-Smith, who became Professor of Theology at Homerton College, that the pupil was thought worthy of a Professorship at Oxford.

Mr. STEVENSON asked leave to withdraw his amendment.

Lord E. FITZMAURICE inquired of the Solicitor-General the nature of the test taken by a Doctor of Divinity. His impression was that there was no test at all in the case.

Mr. MCLAREN was anxious the committee should know that every candidate for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh must attend the Faculty. He had to go through four courses, to pay the fees, do all the exercises, and pass a creditable examination. But no declaration was required. Neither was there any attendance at church or chapel or any profession of faith. If the amendment were adopted the same principle would be established at Oxford and Cambridge as that which prevailed at Edinburgh.

Mr. FAWCETT could easily understand how gentlemen on the Opposition side were unanimously against the amendment, but he wondered that any one on the Government side should object to it. The principle of this bill was to change the character of the old Universities, and to make them national instead of Church of England institutions. It would be a hardship if young men who did not belong to the Church of England, but who were anxious to study theology, should be debarred from showing their knowledge. An examination was a test not of opinion but of knowledge; and if a Nonconformist or a Catholic chose to go up and show the knowledge he possessed of theology, whether the theology of the Church of England or otherwise, why should he not be permitted to do so?

The committee having declined to allow Mr. Stevenson to withdraw his amendment, a division was taken. The numbers were—

For the amendment 101
Against 262—161

Mr. V. HARCOURT thought it must have struck everybody who had considered this bill at all as a very remarkable circumstance that its principles, which were to be applied without remorse to all existing institutions, were not to be applied to any institutions of a kindred character which might hereafter be created. He supported the bill only because the colleges with which it dealt were part of what he regarded as a national establishment. Having contended at some length against confining the principles of the bill to existing colleges, the hon. and learned member concluded by moving to omit the words "subsisting at the time of the passing of this Act." He would ask Her Majesty's Government if this bill passed in its present form, how could they refuse charters to Roman Catholic Colleges in Ireland.

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL found it impossible to accede to the omission of the words which his hon. and learned friend wished to strike out. With respect to future colleges Parliament would deal with them as it might think fit, and as it had always hitherto done with respect to existing colleges. He did not for a moment admit that Parliament was, in the bill, laying down any new or strange principles of legislation. With regard to Keble College, its representatives had, with their eyes open and full notice, exposed their institution to the provisions of this bill.

Mr. HARDY did not understand that the managers of Keble College had, with their eyes open, exposed themselves to the provisions of this bill.

After a few words from Mr. HADFIELD,

Mr. V. HARCOURT withdrew his amendment. He gave notice to move, in bringing up the report, that no charter should be granted to any new college until such charter had lain for thirty days on the table of Parliament.

Mr. J. TALBOT moved the omission from the clause of the words, "or to be or to abstain from being a member of any particular sect or denomination." He considered that the insertion of such words would be offensive to the religious feeling of the community.

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL said the only object in inserting them was to show that the colleges were to be thrown open to every religious denomination, but as that was clearly enacted in the earlier part of the clause, he saw no reason for the retention of the words.

Mr. WINTERBOTHAM hoped the words would be retained, because their omission would give the governing body power to exclude those with whose religious belief they differed.

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL considered that the clause as it stood could not be carried out without an offence inquisitorial examination. It provided that no student should be called upon to take any oath of religious persuasion, to follow any religious observance, "or to be, or abstain from being, a member of any particular sect or denomination."

Mr. W. FOWLER hoped the words would be retained.

The committee divided:

For the amendment 181
Against 113—68

Mr. FAWCETT then moved to omit the first proviso, which exempts clerical fellowships from the operation of the measure; and in support of his amendment stated that at least 150 or 160 fellowships in the two Universities would, if this proviso was permitted to remain, stand in the same position after this bill passed as they did before. Men were bribed to take holy orders by being permitted in that case to hold fellowships for a longer period than if they were lay-

men, and it was not consistent with the principles of this bill that young men should be tempted by pecuniary rewards to take holy orders. If his amendment were carried he should, upon the report, bring up two clauses, the one enacting that no one after the passing of this Act, elected to any headship, fellowship, or studentship in Oxford, Cambridge, or Dublin, should, as a condition of being elected to or holding such fellowship, be required to take holy orders, and the other declaring that no one in holy orders should retain a headship, fellowship, or studentship longer than he would be permitted to do if he were a layman.

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL said this bill, which had been adopted by the Government, was substantially a bill which had been again and again submitted to both Houses of Parliament, and was the result of the deliberations of the leading men of Cambridge and Oxford, who wished to have the bill substantially as it was. The adoption of this amendment would be a violation of all the arrangements, and of all the grounds on which the bill was originally brought forward by those who promoted it. He believed that a large body of Nonconformists had been in communication from time to time with those who had the conduct of the bill, and it had been uniformly their statement that they had no desire to interfere with the college statutes. It was no part of his contemplation to interfere with them. This amendment was beyond the scope of the bill, and, if proposed at all, should be proposed as a separate measure.

Mr. O. MORAN condemned clerical fellowships, but could not vote for an amendment which interfered with the internal management of the colleges.

Mr. MIAUL thought that the principle of the amendment was a sound one, but could not support it, feeling bound by the pledges which were made to the Government by the Nonconformists in order to induce the Government to take the matter in hand.

Mr. GLADSTONE said his hon. friend who had just spoken had acted with that perfect fidelity and honour which all who knew him might expect. (Hear, hear.) It was only fair to state, as this question had been raised, that a representative deputation, as it might fairly be called, of Nonconformists, had an interview with him in the autumn on the subject of this bill. That deputation included his hon. friend the member for Bristol, his hon. friend the member for Leeds, Mr. James Martineau, Mr. Reed, Mr. Cook, and many others of the most eminent representatives of the Nonconformist bodies, and it was distinctly represented to him for the information of the Government that that which was proposed by this amendment proved no part of their requirements on the introduction of this bill. On the contrary, it was distinctly declared that they did not desire that it should contain any provision for the abolition of the college statutes which related to clerical fellowships. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. LOCKE did not think they ought in that House to be bound by any compact made with Nonconformists, or anybody else. The question they had to consider was whether or not the proposal of the hon. member for Brighton was right or wrong; and as no one had risen to say it was wrong, he presumed it was right, and he should vote for it.

Mr. FAWCETT said there was a curious fallacy in the argument of the Solicitor-General, who objected to the amendment, not on principle, but because it interfered with the college statutes. His bill interfered with the college statutes.

The committee divided—

For the amendment 79
Against 157—78

The amendment was consequently lost.

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL then moved an amendment at the end of the sub-section, so as to cure the objection raised by the hon. member for North Warwickshire. A Roman Catholic priest was in holy orders according to the law of England. He proposed to substitute for "laymen" the words "persons not in holy orders in the Church of England," so as to exclude Catholic priests; but after a few words from Mr. Mowbray, who pointed out that the words would exclude converts, the hon. gentlemen withdrew the amendment, and promised to substitute other words on the report.

Mr. V. HARCOURT, who had on the paper a proviso that no college should hereafter be incorporated with the Universities which should not under the provisions of the Act be rendered freely accessible to the nation, said he would bring it up on the report.

Mr. GLADSTONE objected that the proviso would raise a long discussion on points that it would be better to settle at once, on which

Mr. HARCOURT said that he would substitute for the proviso a motion that no charter should be given to colleges not so accessible, which would effect his object.

Mr. PARKER wished for some assurance that the Christian character of the Universities would be maintained, because one could hardly suppose that after the passing of the Act the existing statutes of the Universities and the colleges would be sufficient for that purpose, and that was all they had to depend on. He inquired whether the Universities themselves would have power to modify their statutes in order to effect that object and make them applicable to the new state of things. He had supported the bill solely on the understanding that nothing would be allowed to override the Christian character of the education of our national Universities, although he was quite willing that provisions should be made to admit Jews and persons of other creeds. The general Christian character of the national Universities should be secured by the statutes, and he hoped that the Government would give this point their serious attention.

Sir R. PALMER said that the existing statutes would go a long way to exclude teaching in the Universities which was not of a Christian character. He thought it might be assumed that it was neither the desire of the Nonconformists nor any one else who applied for admission to the Universities that the Christian religion should be set at nought by any person holding an office in the Universities, and nothing would have induced him to be an acquiescing party in the passing of the bill if he believed its effect would be anything so disastrous and mischievous as to admit every kind of attack being made by persons in authority on the religion which was professed by an enormous majority of all denominations and classes in the country. He was bound to say that he thought it was a defect in the bill that it had not dealt more boldly with the matter. If he had received more encouragement when he attempted to frame some proviso on the subject last session, which, without affecting the general principle of comprehension, was aimed against the formation of any active proselytising school of irreligion in the University—and the danger was not so chimerical as it appeared to be—he should have repeated it now; but it was idle to do so after the manner in which it was received on both sides of the House. Nothing more dangerous could arise, not only on religious, but on civil and moral, grounds, for if they succeeded in introducing heathenism into the minds of the youth of the country in regard to religious belief he was satisfied that at no distant date heathenism in morals would follow, and there were not wanting indications at the present time to justify those who felt and thought it right to express that apprehension. He trusted it would be guarded against, and as he desired above all things to see a reasonable settlement of this question this session, he thought some amendment might be introduced to effect the object when the measure was in the House of Lords. He was convinced that neither Nonconformists nor Churchmen would desire to open the floodgates to the preaching and dissemination of infidelity in the Universities.

The clause was then agreed to.

On Clause 5, Mr. SALT drew attention to the wide sweep of the clause, which totally repealed all other Acts of Parliament which were inconsistent with the present bill. Mr. WALPOLE and Mr. PARKER were also of opinion that the clause required further consideration. Mr. WINTERBOTHAM said that on the report he should move the insertion of the words which had been omitted on the motion of his hon. friend opposite. Mr. GLADSTONE trusted that his hon. friend would consider in the meantime whether or not such a course was necessary. There was no difference between them, he believed, as to the object in view. After some further discussion, Clause 5 was agreed to, with some amendments.

Mr. FAWCETT, in withdrawing two clauses of which he had given notice, complained of the incompleteness of the bill as regarded the headship of colleges.

After the schedule of the bill, Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN moved the repeal of the 44th section of the Oxford Act, 17th and 18th of Victoria, explaining that his object was to remove a test imposed in the case of bachelors of art.

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL observed that the test in question was not imposed by the University, and applied only to non-University appointments.

On a division the numbers were:

For the amendment	64
Against it	78—14

The schedule was then agreed to.

On the preamble of the bill, Mr. G. HARDY said the Opposition had endeavoured to prevent the Government being overwhelmed by the advanced reformers; and he must congratulate his hon. and learned friend on the advantage which he had thus obtained over them. (Laughter.) They (the Opposition) would now wait to see what was done on the bringing up of the report for their guidance in reference to the future. Mr. HENLEY, being hard of hearing, did not understand how the question was put, and consequently went into a lobby where he did not intend to go. (Great laughter.) Mr. HADFIELD regretted very much that the Government should be under such great obligations to hon. gentlemen opposite. (Laughter.) Mr. GOSCHEN wished to offer the thanks of that side of the House to the right hon. gentleman (Mr. G. Hardy) for the opposition which he had made to the bill in previous years. He could assure him that unless he had delayed the bill in that way they would not have got half such a liberal measure as that. (Laughter.) Mr. MOWBRAY said the President of the Poor Law Board appeared to him very sanguine in drawing his conclusion. He seemed to think that the bill had already passed and become law, but he begged to assure him that that was not the case. His congratulations at that moment were quite premature, for the negotiations between the Government and the Nonconformists and the extreme Liberals at Oxford were not concluded. Mr. FAWCETT observed that the Government were also indebted to hon. members below the gangway for having always and uniformly pointed out the shortcomings in their measure.

In reply to a question from Mr. W. MORRISON, the SOLICITOR GENERAL said the report would be taken on Monday next.

The bill was then reported with amendments, and the House resumed.

The Stamp Duty on Leases Bill was also considered in Committee, the omission of Clause 2 being the only amendment of importance made.

THE MERCANTILE MARINE.

The next bill on the paper was the second reading of the Merchant Shipping Code Bill, and the House was occupied some considerable time in discussing

whether it is worth while going on with a bill of 700 clauses at this period of the session. Sir J. PAKINGTON urged that further inquiry was necessary for successful legislation, and that the bill ought to be in the hands of a Cabinet Minister. Mr. GRAVES discussed the bill at length, pointing out numerous imperfections and defects, and he was for sending a portion of the bill to a committee upstairs, and for inquiring into the other topics by a Royal Commission. Mr. HENLEY also criticised the bill, which at this time of year it was impossible to pass through a committee of the whole House, and thought it better to wait for another year than to legislate imperfectly. Mr. LINDELL and Mr. CAVÉ, on the other hand, advocated an attempt to pass the bill this year, and it was urged by Mr. SHAW-LEFEBVRE and also by Mr. GLADSTONE that the bill was to a great extent one of consolidation, and that with ordinary forbearance the clauses might be disposed of. Mr. SHAW-LEFEBVRE defended the bill generally, and promised to consider favourably any suggestion made. Mr. Gourley, Mr. Samuda, and Mr. E. Smith also made some observations, and the bill was read a second time.

Sir John Pakington, Mr. Graves, and Mr. Gourley had notices on the paper to move the reference of different portions of the bill to the Select Committee, but Mr. GLADSTONE asked for a little delay to consider the best course to be pursued, and the question was adjourned for a week.

Several bills were forwarded a stage, and the House adjourned at one o'clock.

THE GOVERNMENT EDUCATION BILL.

Mr. H. Richard, member for Merthyr-Tydvil, has given notice that on a motion for going into committee upon the Education Bill he shall move the following amendment, which expresses the views of the Education League and the Nonconformist Committee:—"That, without desiring to interfere with the continued receipt of grants by existing schools, subject to an efficient conscience clause, this House is of opinion that in any national system of elementary education, the religious teaching should be supplied by voluntary effort, and not out of public funds."

On Saturday a meeting of the leading members of the late Cabinet was held at Mr. Disraeli's residence, to determine on the action to be taken by the Conservative party with reference to the Education Bill. After a protracted discussion, it was determined to support the Ministerial scheme, and to oppose the amendments introduced by Mr. Vernon Harcourt and the supporters of the League.

The Committee of the Congregational Union passed the following resolutions on the Government Education Bill on Tuesday:—"1. That this committee regard with general approval the amendments in the Elementary Education Bill, of which notice has been given on the part of the Government, and in particular express their satisfaction with the proposed time-table arrangement for religious observance and for instruction in religious subjects, and with the exclusion of inquiry into religious observance and instruction from the duties of Her Majesty's inspectors. 2. That, nevertheless, they cannot regard the amendments as entirely removing the objections taken to the bill on religious grounds; and that, while not prepared to urge the withdrawal of grants from existing denominational schools which receive grants under the minutes of Privy Council, they are of opinion that in rate-supported schools the teaching should be confined to secular instruction, local boards being at liberty to permit the impartial use of the school buildings by various denominations for the religious instruction of the scholars in other than school hours. 3. That, in any case, they firmly object to any extension of the denominational system of education at the public cost, and they are of opinion that any measure to be accepted by Parliament should exclude from schools established or aided by local boards all religious catechisms and formularies, and prohibit the teaching of anything in support of, or in opposition to, the tenets of any religious sect."

The General Baptists of the Midland Counties met in conference at Quorndon on Tuesday. The conference represented sixty-three churches and nearly 9,000 members. Considerable time was given to deliberation on the education question. A desire was generally felt that the best possible measure should be adopted and set to work throughout the country. The Conference appreciated the difficulties of the Government, and without adopting any resolution thereon, appeared disposed to accept the Time-table Conscience Clause. But the Conference did resolve, and that unanimously and emphatically, "That the bill as it now stands, giving power to the school boards to teach denominational religion in schools, supported wholly or in part by rates, is highly objectionable to this Conference, inasmuch as it is in direct opposition to one of the vital principles of non-conformity, by seeking to establish a new form of religious taxation, and in permitting sectarian dogma to be taught at the public expense."

The accompanying resolution, on the announced amendments of the Elementary Education Bill, was unanimously adopted by the Committee of the Baptist Union on Tuesday, the Rev. Benjamin Davies, L.L.D., Professor of Hebrew Literature, Regent's Park College, University of London, being in the chair:—"That the committee have observed with satisfaction the advances made by Her Majesty's Government, in their modifications of the Elementary Education Bill, towards a purely secular system of

education supported by the State; and, feeling assured that no system of Government education will be satisfactory which is not confined to secular teaching, they earnestly hope that the bill will be still further amended, so as to strictly prohibit the use of any religious catechism or formulary whatever, in schools supported or aided from public rates or taxes."

It will be seen also for our advertising columns that the deputies of the Three Denominations have adopted resolutions on the subject.

A meeting was held at Cambridge on Friday night, at which were present the leading members of the various Nonconformist bodies in the town. It was resolved to memorialise the Vice-President of the Board of Education to withdraw all national support from denominational schools. The feeling was expressed that all new schools should be undenominational, and that if the Bible should be used in schools there should be an ample conscience clause. The meeting also formally expressed a hope that all lawful means would be used to defeat the Government measure if denominationalism was not given up, and further, their regret that a Liberal Administration should produce a scheme that gratifies its most resolute opponents, and alienates those who have been its firmest supporters. A year's delay in legislation would be preferable to the present bill.

At the quarterly meeting of pastors and deacons of the Congregational churches of Leeds, held at East Parade Chapel on Thursday, the Rev. E. R. Conder, M.A., in the chair, a petition to Parliament on the subject of the Elementary Education Bill was proposed by the Rev. A. H. Byles, B.A., seconded by the Rev. H. Tarrant, and after a short discussion unanimously agreed to. The petition will be forwarded to Mr. Baines, M.P., and is in the following terms:—"To the Honourable the Commons, &c.—Your petitioners have given careful consideration to the bill now before Parliament to provide for public elementary education in England and Wales, and also the amendments to the same recently laid upon the table of your Honourable House by Her Majesty's Government. Your petitioners are unanimously of opinion that the bill should be further amended, so as to secure the following objects: 1. That in no case should it be in the power of the local boards to determine the character of the religious teaching in schools established under the bill. 2. That in all schools deriving assistance from public rates the religious teaching should be undenominational. 3. That no teacher paid wholly or in part from public rates be allowed to employ any book as text book, for the purpose of imparting religious instruction, other than the Bible. Your petitioners therefore your Honourable House to pass such amendments as will secure the foregoing objects."

A public meeting was held at Stroud on Wednesday night to consider the Education Bill. Mr. Marling, M.P., presided, and Mr. Winterbotham was one of the speakers. Resolutions were passed declaring that schools supported by public money should be open to children of all religious creeds on terms of perfect equality, but that there should be no interference with the continued receipt of public grants by existing denominational schools, subject to an efficient conscience clause; protesting against the establishment of denominational schools out of public grants as a violation of religious equality; and asserting that no grant of public money should be made to any school which did not permit the absolute withdrawal of a child during the time of religious education. The meeting also adopted a resolution, heartily approving of the course taken by Mr. Winterbotham, and pledging itself to support him.

Lord Houghton, speaking on the subject of education at Pontefract, on Tuesday, said he did not fear that the religious difficulty would cause dissensions in the school boards. "There are some people (said his Lordship) who think that when Churchmen and Dissenters are brought around a table to talk about school education they will immediately set to fisticuffs, and, if not literally, yet morally, try to break one another's heads. I do not think they will do that. I think there is nothing like bringing a set of men of different opinions together round one table for a common purpose. I believe that in that case the violent men are driven, from very shame, to abate their violence and to combine with the moderate men for the public good." Lord Houghton does not think the time has come for a purely secular system of education.

A meeting of the executive committee of the Welsh Education Alliance was held at Brecon on the 9th and 10th inst., to take into consideration the amendments upon the Elementary Education Bill. After a full discussion it was resolved that, "While we approve of Mr. Forster's amendments to the second schedule, so far as they abolish plurality of votes, and adopt the ballot, we most strongly object to the bill as amended, because it still permits the formation of new denominational schools, allows existing schools to continue in receipt of Government grants, and yet remain denominational in teaching and management, and empowers school boards to levy rates in support of existing and also new denominational schools; also because the bill provides for the election of school-boards otherwise than by the direct votes of the ratepayers, authorises these boards to delegate the management of the schools to persons not elected by the ratepayers, empowers them to grant the use of school buildings for religious teaching and worship out of school hours, and makes no provision for the formation of such boards in every part of the country, nor for the direct compulsory attendance of children in every locality." The committee also discussed Dr. Lyon Playfair's amendment to clause three, which restricts the term "Elementary Education" to "reading, writing, arithmetic, drawing, science,

and physical training," and resolved that, "this amendment embodies all that should be included in a system of national education, and that no satisfactory system of national education can be established which is not strictly confined within the limits therein prescribed. Also that in any scheme of national education the prescribed course of instruction should not trench upon the religious views of any section of the community." The Rev. Professor Rowland (Bangor), and the Rev. F. Souley Johnstone (Merthyr), were deputed to go to London to watch the progress of the bill through committee on behalf of the Alliance.

The *Daily News* recognises unwillingly the fact that Mr. Forster's measure in its present shape, and even with the improvements which his latest amendments will give to it, has become impossible; for it would rather have the bill with Mr. Forster's amendments than protracted controversy. But it is becoming clear that the bill will not put an end to controversy. It will rather inflame it, and carry it from the leaders of parties and opinion to every district in the country; and will convert the measure from an agency of education into a theme of bitter conflict. In every district there will be a conflict, first, between the supporters of secular education and the advocates of the denominational system; and afterwards, if the latter gain the victory, between the several denominationalists for the possession of the school. The leading members of the late Cabinet met on Saturday at Mr. Disraeli's house, and determined to support the Ministerial scheme against the amendments of Mr. Vernon Harcourt and the League. The Government will do well to consider before it allies itself with its most formidable enemies against its staunchest friends. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Forster cannot but know that to the secular system we must come at last. The only question is, how? Blindfold, and after storm and tumult, or with open eyes and clear intention? Secular education, so far from being irreligious, is, indeed, a condition of the only true denominational instruction. It restricts the schoolmaster to his proper work; but leaves to the ministers of each church full freedom, and offers them every facility for giving strict denominational instruction to the children of their own communion.

THE TIMES COMMISSIONER ON THE IRISH LAND BILL.

Now that the Irish Land Bill has passed the threshold of the House of Commons, and is about to be discussed by the Upper House, the Special Commissioner of the *Times* thinks it a fitting time that he should declare his opinion on its merits, and point out any provisions of the bill which he believes are still open to improvement. He has no doubt that the peers will be pressed to consider many objections to the measure, two only of which appear to him to be plausible; namely, the one that Ireland may be made the theatre for repeated lawsuits in the settling of claims to tenant-right, and the other the liability of the new Act to check the operation of "free contracts" between landlord and tenant. These objections Mr. O'Connor Morris dismisses from his observation as trivial, inasmuch as he does not believe, in the first case, that the bill will, as is feared, be a fruitful source of bickering; and, in the second, he considers that, although the measure may serve to make contracts less free and open, it will give a preponderate advantage by causing them to be more just and equal to both parties. Mr. Morris does not think that the bill is perfect, although the House of Commons have amended its main structure considerably by defining Ulster tenant-right, and by making it clear how all claims under the rights are to be vindicated; by causing landlords' counter-claims in respect to the demands of the tenant for improvements to be more fully recognised, and by bringing down the power of "contracting out of the bill" to tenants of 50*l.* instead of those of 100*l.* The Special Commissioner is of opinion that the bill is still open to improvement in its style or language. The House of Lords will also, he believes, have to decide whether the elaborate safeguards provided for the Irish tenant may not, as they stand, be open to evasion by an unconscious landlord. The Equities clause ought also to be recast, and made less verbose; so, also, ought the sixteenth clause, by which a head landlord may in certain cases be made liable to sub-tenants on account of disturbance. Some definitions in the bill, he contends, are also imperfect, especially the cardinal one of a "tenant," which would include leases renewable for ever—a tenure probably not contemplated. The Commissioner, finally, holds that Mr. Bright's proprietary scheme ought to be discussed in a liberal spirit by the peers. Although believing that the success of Mr. Gladstone's Land Bill will not be perceived at once, by making a desult blossom as a rose, yet he hopes that this new act of settlement will gradually make the Irish peasantry feel that they are no longer outlaws in their own land, and that law is not an image of wrong to them, that it will gradually eradicate evil habits of violence, disorder, and ruthless combination; that it will in some degree cement and unite the ill-compacted frame of Irish society; that it will tend to attach a generous-hearted people to institutions no longer hostile to them.

"What do you know of the character of this man?" was asked of a witness at a police-court the other day. "What do I know of his character? I know it to be unbleachable, yer honour," replied he, with emphasis.

Postscript.

Wednesday, June 15/4, 1870.

YESTERDAY'S PARLIAMENT.

THE IRISH LAND BILL.

Though there was a fuller attendance than usual in the House of Lords last night, the Chamber was very far from crowded, and no signs of excitement.

Earl GRANVILLE, in moving the second reading of the Irish Land Bill, and after some preliminary remarks, explained in sufficient detail the principal provisions of the bill. This exposition did not occupy many minutes, and the remainder of the noble earl's remarks were devoted to the anticipation and refutation of the objections which might be urged against the measure—especially that which might be derived from the proposed interference with the freedom of contract—and an earnest appeal to their Lordships to discuss the bill, not only in a just, but in a large and generous spirit towards the tenantry of Ireland. At the outset of the criticisms which he offered to the House, the Duke of RICHMOND admitted that the relations between landlords and tenants in Ireland are so different from those which prevail in England and Scotland, and that the circumstances of the former country are so exceptional that no legislation which may be applied to it can be drawn into a precedent for dealing in a similar manner with any part of Great Britain; but he denied that the landlords are mainly or in any great part responsible for this state of things. The provisions of the bill, he asserted, went far beyond the principles laid down by the members of the Government sitting in the House, especially by Lord Kimberley, last year; and he spent some time in commenting upon speeches made either by noble lords at that time, or by members of the Cabinet in the House of Commons during the present session. He examined the several clauses of the bill in great detail, and urged serious objections against almost every one of them; but the result of all this antagonistic comment was, that he was not prepared to assume an effectively hostile attitude towards the measure. He would not undertake the responsibility of its rejection, with the certainty of provoking renewed agitation in Ireland, and ensuring the introduction of a worse bill in another year; and therefore, while announcing his intention to move important amendments in committee, he recommended their lordships to assent to the second reading. Earl RUSSELL expressed a warm approval of the bill in its present shape, and as he believed that it had been made as perfect as possible in the other House, announced his intention to oppose all attempts to alter it. Lord ORANMORE moved the rejection of the bill in a speech which traversed the whole field of Irish politics, and arraigned the whole Irish policy of the Administration. Lord PONTEMPHREY spoke briefly but emphatically in favour of the bill, and Lord LIRRIDGE, at much greater length, against it. The latter noble lord expressed entire abhorrence of all the provisions of the measure, but so fully recognised the strength of the position which the Government had assumed in regard to the question, that he was willing to agree to the second reading. Lord DURRANTHORN explained his own position in regard to tenant-right, and argued cogently in support of the bill, which he regarded as the only possible, complete, and satisfactory settlement of a most difficult and critical question, and a measure fraught with blessings to Ireland. The latter part of his speech was rather an exposition of the land system of Ireland than an argument upon the bill before the House. In the course of these observations he developed many principles different from, and apparently at variance with, those upon which this measure has been generally supported; and all these points were warmly cheered by the peers who occupied the Opposition benches. At the close of Lord Dufferin's speech, Lord Grey and the Marquis of Salisbury rose together to address the House. There were loud cries of "Lord Salisbury," but Lord Grey would not give way, and it was not until Earl STANHOPE had moved that the noble marquis should be heard, and the question had been carried in the affirmative, that he was allowed to proceed. Lord SALISBURY commenced by expressing his approval of the sections which gave retrospective compensation for improvements, and also of what were generally known as "Mr. Bright's clauses." His support of these latter provisions he rested upon political rather than upon economic grounds, and declared that there might be as much danger from too large as from too small proprietorships. The part of the bill to which he first objected was that which restricts freedom of contract, and *à propos* of this topic, he made merry at the expense of those who justify it by an appeal to the principle of political economy—a science, the utterances of which he characterised as being as obscure as those of the Delphic Oracle of old, and of which all that could be certainly asserted was that it appeared to be regarded as the exclusive property of the Liberal party. The worst part of the bill, however, "the black part"—for he described the measure as being in parts white, grey, and black—was that which gave compensation for disturbance, which was, in his opinion, an unjustifiable transfer from the pockets of the landlord to those of the tenant, and would

operate to the destruction of the generosity and charity of landlords. Lord KINNAULY expressed a general satisfaction at the spirit in which the bill had been discussed, and replied in detail to the objections which had been urged against its provisions. After Lord BANDON had pronounced against the measure, and Lord MOWBRAY, though generally in its favour, had criticised some of its machinery, the debate was, upon the motion of Lord CAIRNS, adjourned till Thursday, and the House rose at half-past twelve o'clock.

FUNERAL OF MR. DICKENS.

Shortly before ten o'clock yesterday morning the remains of Mr. Charles Dickens were interred in Westminster Abbey. The body was brought from Gadshill-place at an early hour, and was conveyed to the Charing-cross Railway Station. It was there transferred to a plain hearse, without feathers or trappings of any kind, and was followed to the Abbey by three plain mourning coaches, containing the members of the family and a few friends. None of the mourners wore either bands or scarves, but were simply in plain deep black. The Burial Service was read by the Dean of Westminster. The body lies in Poet's Corner, close to the coffin of Handel, at the head of the remains of Sheridan, and between those of Lord Macaulay and Cumberland, the dramatic poet. Only a few feet off lie Johnson, Garrick, and Campbell, and the bust of Thackeray overlooks the grave.

GOVERNMENT EDUCATION BILL.

We are requested to publish the following circular:

CENTRAL NONCONFORMIST COMMITTEE,
Town Hall Chambers, 86, New-street,
Birmingham, June 18th, 1870.

Sir,—Mr. H. Richard has given notice of the following amendment on the motion that the House go into Committee on the Elementary Education Bill:

That without desiring to interfere with the continued receipt of grants by existing schools, subject to an efficient Conscience Clause, this House is of opinion that in any national system of elementary education, the religious teaching should be supplied by voluntary effort, and not out of public funds.

This amendment was agreed to at a meeting on Friday night, at which there were present Mr. Richard, Mr. Miall, Mr. Winterbotham, Mr. Ellington, Mr. George Dixon, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Osborne Morgan, and other members of the House.

We have the strongest grounds for believing that the proposal to secure the "unsectarian character of religious teaching in rate-aided and supported schools" is regarded by the leaders of all parties in the House as an impossible solution of the religious difficulty.

The immediate alternative before us, is (1) either to permit the schoolmaster to have unrestricted freedom to teach sectarian dogmas, the only limit to that freedom being the exclusion of denominational creeds and formulaires, or (2) to provide that the schoolmaster shall be required to give instruction only in secular subjects, and to leave the religious teaching to the zeal and energy of religious communities.

Our committee, without expressing any opinion as to the abstract principle of the present denominational system, which, as far as existing schools are concerned, is left untouched, have resolved to give their support to Mr. Richard's motion. They will of course continue to support the proposal of Mr. Winterbotham (in his amendments on the seventh clause) for the reading of the Bible without note or comment in rate-aided schools.

The struggle has now reached its crisis. We therefore earnestly request you to communicate immediately with your representatives in the House, and to beg them to support Mr. Richard's motion as the only protection on which we can now rely against having denominational schools founded and aided by a public rate.

We are, yours faithfully,
R. W. DALE, H. W. CROSSKEY, Hon. Secretaries.

Magnificent weather favoured the first day of the Ascot meeting, and the gathering was a large and brilliant one. The Prince and Princess of Wales and Prince Christian were present.

The Crown Princess of Prussia was safely delivered of a daughter last evening.

Fresh arrests in connection with the alleged conspiracy against the life of the Emperor Napoleon are reported from Paris, and capsule cases, apparently intended to be fixed to bombs, have, it is said, been discovered, together with seditious pamphlets and letters.

There was a fall yesterday of forty centimes at the Paris Bourse, which was attributed partly to a slight indisposition from which the Emperor is said to be suffering, and partly to the continuance of the drought. Flour rose five francs in price yesterday in the Paris market.

MARK-LANE.—THIS DAY.

There has been a continuance of firmness at Mark-lane today, and the values of all qualities have been well maintained. The show of English wheat was again limited. There has been a continuance of firmness in the trade, and the late advance has been well supported. The show of foreign wheat has been moderate. The demand has been steady, and full prices have been realised. Moderate supplies of barley have been on offer. The trade has been firm, at full currency. Malt has been quiet, at late rates. Oats have been in request, at improving prices. Beans and peas have been fully as dear, with a moderate inquiry. Flour has been firm, and steady in value.

HAMPDEN HOUSE, AVENUE-ROAD, REGENTS PARK.—The Rev. NATHANIEL JENNINGS, M.A., F.R.A.S., PREPARES BOYS for the CIVIL and MILITARY EXAMINATIONS, and for Matriculation in the Universities of London, Oxford, and Cambridge. Terms, (inclusive), from 75 to 90 guineas per annum.

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AT A SPECIAL MEETING of the DEPUTIES of PROTESTANT DISSENTERS of the THREE DENOMINATIONS—Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist—in and within Twelve Miles of London, appointed to protect their civil rights, held at the CITY TERMINUS HOTEL, CANNON-STREET, on TUESDAY, the 14th June, 1870,—

Present—CHARLES REED, Esq., M.P., in the Chair—
It was moved by Henry Wright, Esq., seconded by H. R. Ellington, Esq., and

RESOLVED.—
"That the Deputies are constrained to express their opinion that the alterations which the Government propose to make in the Elementary Education Bill fail to remove the objections urged against the measure by Nonconformists:—1st, In that the Bill will still leave the religious teaching of new schools to be determined by local boards; and, 2ndly, In that it will perpetuate and extend denominational management and teaching, and will compel ratepayers to support the teaching of contradictory religious beliefs."

"That they are further of opinion that while, as a matter of equity, existing schools, partially supported by Parliamentary grants, alone may, subject to an effective conscience clause, continue to maintain their present religious character, the only principle which Nonconformists can consistently sanction in regard to schools supported to any extent by local rates is, that all religious teaching given to the children of such schools should be supplied by voluntary effort, and not as a matter of State arrangement and at the public cost."

O. SHEPHEARD, Secretary.

78, Coleman-street, E.C.

THE BAPTIST UNION of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND.

At a MEETING of COMMITTEE, held JUNE 7th, the Rev. BENJAMIN DAVIES, LL.D., in the Chair, it was

RESOLVED.—
"That the Committee have observed with satisfaction the advances made by Her Majesty's Government, in their modifications of the Elementary Education Bill, towards a purely secular system of education supported by the State; and feeling assured that no system of Government education will be satisfactory which is not confined to secular teaching, they earnestly hope that the Bill will be still further amended so as to strictly prohibit the use of any religious catechism or formulary whatever in schools supported or aided from public rates or taxes."

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The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15, 1870.

SUMMARY.

THOUGH the Commons reassembled on Thursday after the Whitsun recess, the attendance was meagre and the business of minor importance. The majority of members, tempted by the fine summer weather, lengthened their holiday by a few days, and it was not till Monday, when the University Tests Bill went into

Committee, that there was anything like a full House.

A good deal of necessary business was, however, got through on Thursday. Several hours were spent in considering the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill. Mr. Crawford stated the grievance of sugar importers, and was so strongly supported, that the Government consented to allow a drawback in the case of importers of duty-paid sugar, but declined any remission to dealers in the article. Mr. Lowe was also obliged to make another concession—the obnoxious proposal compelling employers to return the amount of the salaries of persons in their service for the purpose of income-tax being withdrawn. Soon after the Government sustained the first defeat of the Session. Mr. Gregory, supported by Mr. Disraeli, moved that farmers' horses should not forfeit their exemption from duty by their being hired for drawing materials for repairing roads and highways. The Speaker, in his official robes—the House being in Committee—spoke in favour of the amendment, which was carried by 49 to 45. Mr. Gladstone, amid the derisive cheers of the Opposition, declared that this being the extension of an existing exemption, the Government would "consider their duty with regard to it." Mr. Lowe's Budget this year has not fared well, the right hon. gentleman having already abandoned his proposal relative to railways, and modified his gun-tax scheme. Some progress was made with the Army Estimates, notwithstanding the querulous spirit of the military members, who, together with the representatives of the sister profession, are bitter against the Government for their economical policy.

The principal subject of debate on Friday was a resolution moved by Mr. Campbell, "that the principle of representation ought to be applied to the Government and financial administration of counties." The subject has been before Parliament for many years, but has invariably been postponed to meet the exigencies of the Government of the day. The hon. member for Stirling desires to confer on counties municipal institutions similar to those which are enjoyed by cities and boroughs, but the Home Secretary met the motion with the plea that a Select Committee is now considering the feasibility of establishing county financial boards. The resolution was, therefore, condemned by Mr. Bruce and others as "inopportune," and was finally rejected by 61 to 39 votes.

We hope that the conciliatory spirit of the Upper House on reassembling on Monday is of good augury. Lord Hatherley proposed to meet the objections of the law lords to his High Court of Judicature Bill by enacting that the rules of procedure of the various courts should be prepared under the direction of the Lord Chancellor (instead of the Privy Council as had been suggested), to be afterwards ratified by Parliament, but that the measure should not come into operation till that formality had been gone through. His Lordship has also abandoned the intention of abolishing the Home-Circuit, and expressed his willingness to bring the Appellate Jurisdiction within the general Judicature system, and to make it a branch of the High Court of Justice. Lord Cairns accepted these concessions, and withdrew opposition. Probably the Bill will now pass, though it cannot come into operation for more than a year, and then only by the forbearance of the law lords in accepting rules framed by a Lord Chancellor who is too much of a reformer to suit their tastes.

Two county elections during the week have been won by the Conservatives. Mr. T. T. Paget has again made a gallant stand in South Leicestershire, but the whole weight of the landed interest was in favour of his opponent, Mr. Heygate, who was returned by the considerable majority of 707. Perhaps the ballot and vigilant attention to the registration will ere long reverse this decision. In the Isle of Wight, Mr. Baillie Cochrane, a Conservative, succeeds the late Sir John Simeon, a staunch Liberal. Sir John was a local landowner; Mr. Moffat is not, and received no support from influential members of the party, who are jealous of commercial representatives for a county. But the Liberal was only defeated by a majority of twenty-five votes. The Conservatives may legitimately crow over these small successes, which will however produce no appreciable effect in the House of Commons.

Mr. E. S. Robinson, the recently-elected member for Bristol, has met with a very hard fate. Chosen by a large majority, and his election having been declared to have been pure by Baron Bramwell who tried the petition, he has nevertheless been unseated, as it were by misadventure. In the test-ballot which preceded the election, a small sum was expended in bribery by culpable friends, and the Court of Common Pleas was called upon not to decide the particular merits of the Bristol election,

but to lay down a general principle. The court of appeal could hardly do otherwise than rule that bribes given to influence a test-ballot were bribes given to influence an election. Consequently Mr. Robinson, in whose return there was far less corruption than in the case of almost any of the members who have passed through a judicial ordeal since the general election, is unseated. But he retires from Parliament without a personal stain, and with the genuine sympathy not only of his fellow-citizens, but of numerous friends elsewhere.

The apparent timidity of Mr. Cardwell in relation to army reform is now explained. Her Majesty has signed an Order in Council which will effect a revolution at the Horse Guards by placing that authority in subordination to the Parliamentary head of the War Department. The Commander-in-Chief is charged with the discipline of the army, and with the responsibilities of promotion in the lower grades, but all his acts are for the future to be subject to the approval of the Secretary of State. The army will now be in a measure under the control of Parliament, and all the evils and expenses of double government are in a fair way of being removed. At the same time the bounty system, which has proved so injurious to the *morale* of the army, and the fruitful cause of desertion, is to be abolished. These are salutary reforms, which will pave the way for other necessary changes and economies in the administration of the army.

THE SUPPLEMENTAL CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT.

THAT is what the Elementary Education Bill now before Parliament, if allowed to pass as it stands, will create—a secondary and supplemental Church Establishment. The State clergy having succeeded so well in teaching the facts and doctrines of Christianity in every parish in England and Wales, wherein they take upon themselves public religious responsibilities and receive, as their due, means of subsistence from public resources, that two millions of children, it is affirmed, are all but ignorant of the existence of a God, the British people are believed to be upon the eve of completing the good work by the agency of State-paid school-masters. They are a curious, well-meaning, slow-to-believe, plagiarising, blundering race, it must be confessed. Because the clerical servants of the State have utterly failed in securing the end for which they were appointed, it must have an inferior class of officials to supply existing deficiencies; and so, once more, and perhaps for another half-century, its arrangements will deepen the existing false impression that the religious education of the people is being properly cared for. Broad Church unites with Low Church, and both, we are sorry to believe, with a predominant section of crude Nonconformity, in cheating the public into the persuasion that for a man to be professionally engaged in teaching the alphabet, the multiplication table, and the rudiments of one or more of the ologies, together with writing and drawing, and yet not to feel himself under conscientious obligations to teach religion along with them, is very heathenish. Some people ridicule the fetishes of Dissent: there is a Broad Church fetisch about exalting all true intellectual, moral, and spiritual agency among us, into a National institution, and consecrating it by setting upon it the stamp of public authority, which is quite as ridiculous, and not a whit less narrow; and Broad Churchism, we suspect, has had a good deal to do with the concoction of Mr. W. E. Forster's Education Bill, and still has a good deal to do with the non-assent of the Government to put around School Boards the same limitations as to what they shall have taught in their Schools, as those which, with the concurrence of Government, are to be put around the examinations of School Inspectors.

Still, the Education question appears to us to be passing into another phase. It came upon the British people too soon, and we may say too unexpectedly, to admit of being treated at once upon sound principles. Like fruit which is ripened before its time by being pinched by impatient fingers, but which is thereby ripened into rottenness, so the problem of how to reconcile a universally applicable system of popular education with the rights and interests of personal religious conviction can only seem to be getting solved and settled by operations which confuse rather than clear up its several elements. But, Dissenters, we think we may say, after having rubbed their eyes a bit, and steadily contemplated the thing which was presented to them as an offshoot of secularism, are beginning to discover that what, by way of offence, has been baptized "secularism," is really the legitimate child of Nonconformist principles, and to teach any or every form of religious

truth to little children by means of State-appointed and State-paid schoolmasters, is very near akin indeed to teaching the same form or forms to adults by the State-authorised, and State-supported clergy. He who conscientiously objects to the latter, can hardly, except in hazy intervals, approve of the former.

The question is certainly worth discussing in this light—for a dense atmosphere of prejudice still remains to be penetrated by the beams of simple truth. We rejoice, therefore, to observe that Mr. H. Richard, the hon. member for Merthyr, has given notice of the following amendment, upon the amendment on the motion for going into Committee, which stands in Mr. Vernon Harcourt's name:—"That without desiring to interfere with the continued receipt of grants by existing schools, subject to an efficient conscience clause, this House is of opinion that, in any national system of elementary education, the religious teaching should be supplied by voluntary effort, and not out of public funds." The Central Nonconformist Committee at Birmingham, of which the Rev. R. W. Dale and the Rev. H. W. Crosskey, are secretaries, has already published an expression of their judgment in support of this motion. It will not, perhaps, be carried—for it is the fashion just now to declare that it is the right thing, and to couple the declaration with a confession that it is an impracticable thing (which it is so long as everybody chooses to say so)—but it will at least save the consistency of leading Nonconformists by entering a sort of protest against erecting a juvenile State Establishment of religion. Nevertheless, it will render a near approach to a sound conclusion, not more, but less, difficult than might else have been the case. Men often acquiesce in, as the least disagreeable of several issues, that which deviates the least from the line of their principle, albeit they cannot voluntarily choose it for their purpose. If we *must* have religious teaching by national schoolmasters, and as a part of the legally approved routine of tuition, it will be some alleviation of the necessity, that in the rate-provided and rate-supported schools, the teaching shall be "unsectarian," whatever interpretation may be put upon that term unknown as yet to law.

Her Majesty's Ministers appear to be earnestly intent upon pushing the Elementary Education Bill through Parliament this Session, and this they may perhaps accomplish if they prefer the immediate success of their measure to the soundness of the principles which it embodies. "Undenominational, and unsectarian teaching from the Bible," would very likely carry along with it the warm approval of a great majority of Liberals, and might be acquiesced in protesting, even by the Conservatives—but, even if adopted, it would not work smoothly, and would probably be set aside in practice before many years are over. One thing is incontestable, the Privy Council system can last only until a rate-aided system shall come into being. The gentry and the clergy are weary of the voluntary portion of the work which, partly in honest religious zeal, and partly in ecclesiastical rivalry, they have prosecuted so long. The School Boards will practically be masters of the situation, and it is of the utmost importance that the religious knowledge of the next generation should not be put under their discretion.

CHARLES DICKENS.

PERHAPS there is now no man in England whose death would cause such a peculiar thrill of personal pain to pass through the minds of all classes in the nation, as did the intimation of Charles Dickens' sudden decease last week. There are those, indeed, whose loss would leave the sense of a more immediate blank—those who stand highest in offices of responsibility and are prominently before the public eye. But the sorrow in their case is modified by the thought that their places *can* be filled; and that, after all, public labour will go on much as before. Here, perhaps, that great entity the public is unjust; and yet not all unjust. There is a certain stern fitness and proportion in the manner in which it metes out its rewards to those who have done it service; and with a certain wilful justice it gives to each according to the gift he has brought.

The secret of the affection entertained towards Mr. Dickens, sprang from the dominating sense of a pure and beautiful personal influence in his works. The man himself stood revealed in them without affectation, without disguise. He came to men's hearts with healing. That hunger for a full and familiar interest in something beyond the dull daily routine of everyday, which had before been feasted very much on pretty make-believe, he felt had a real root in the better part of man's being, and he set himself to provide more wholesome fare for it. He

introduced us to near neighbours whom we had overlooked. He showed us beauty, and grace, and tender self-denial among the very sort of people we see every day—to some extent vulgar because so familiar—who live next door to us, or in the mews behind our mansion, who run our messages, or drive the cab we go home in from the pleasant Christmas parties. And he touched his homely picture sometimes with such a prevailing pathos stealing around the humour, that as we laughed a tear started to the eyelid to be wiped away suddenly. He was a humourist, perhaps not of the very highest type, for his humour seldom entirely separated itself from the dross of caricature, but his whole genius was steeped in that intimate sympathy out of which all humour springs.

Safely may it be said that the one condition of Dickens's success with any type of character was that he should be able to love it. And he made us love it in the very measure of his own sympathy with it. He scarcely had any hearty hates. What hates he did have were towards systems, not persons; and sometimes he hit out very bravely against them; but occasionally he spoiled his books a little by his warmth and zeal in this, however high and benevolent may have been his motives in making the attack. The Circumlocution Office, the Chancery courts, our missionary enterprises; he may or he may not have done much to reform the evils of these; but he has associated them with characters for whom he can never cease to have some lingering regard and love in spite of all their deceits and meannesses. We do not hate Mrs. Jellaby, no; we only wish she were a little less offensively unctuous. Harold Skimpole, would we not, like Mr. Jarndyce, give him quarter if we could, and be amused at his quips and wiles and odd ways of sliding through the world? Could we laugh so heartily and with such completeness of enjoyment over Chadband, if we really hated him in our very hearts; or joke over poor Pecksniff, if we did not have some hope of better things? The grains of human nature are too strangely mixed in his men and women, that sometimes we are affected by their mere outside, as we are by the grotesque tracery on a clown's dress; but we get ever and anon touching peeps at the inner man; and find that he is not so odd after all. Dickens could not paint the purely bad type—the malevolent, revengeful, conscienceless wretch. Quilp is a miserable failure; Fagan is little better, and Ralph Nickleby seems an automaton. And that is the one merit of Mr. Dickens, that he cannot paint what is only morally repulsive. Bill Sykes has a spring of humanity far down in him if the rock had only been struck ere it was too late. Indeed, the peculiar thing is that often when Dickens's intention was to produce a sort of revulsion, he only enkindled sympathy and a sort of gentle tolerance. The Artful Dodger, do we not feel a liking for him, gradually growing on us more and more as we read? This kind of indirect and unexpected effect was inseparable, indeed, from the sentimental element in which Mr. Dickens delights to wrap his characters. They are real in the elements that form their individuality; but sometimes become unreal because of the atmosphere into which they are thrown. Yet sometimes he is as real as the most prosaic realist. Kate Nickleby and her mother, where shall we look for a finer contrast of female types. The matronly vanity and restless impotence of the one; the sweet sense and tender sagacity of the other. This pair will rank with the highest creations of genius in any age, with Shakespeare's Ophelia and Cordelia, with Richardson's Clarissa, with Thackeray's Amelia.

Charles Dickens's influence was human and kindly, and on the whole beneficial; he showed us what a strange, multiform world lay on every side of us, overlooked simply because we are so apt to try and find what is interesting at a distance; and if he is honoured who discovers a new element in which to combine and dissolve other elements in order to useful results, surely he who discovers a new moral solvent by means of which differences of rank and class disappear in a common sympathy, claims to be regarded as a still nobler public benefactor, whose work, in its issues, will not soon pass away.

Dickens's place in English literature is secure. He passed away in his prime, and while his mind was yet fresh, actively engaged amid new creations. How we shall miss the ever-returning refreshment of his mirthful wisdom, the stir and suggestion of mystery in his crowd of striking pictures and his all-commanding wit. If sometimes his themes were local and of temporary interest, he had the transmitting power that gives enduring sanctions; for the human heart beat in his pages. We are too near him as yet to try to estimate the whole extent of his influence; and to distinguish between what is lasting and what is transient;

our mood is that of regret and gratitude; and this mood is not given to analyse and distinguish. It is well that analysis comes later.

But this much may be said with safety touching a general estimate of him who has gone. If sometimes he erred in descending to a kind of art which is individual only in wronging the individual, not reaching through outward details to the very type; yet the error was in some degree atoned for by a generosity that glanced aside at possibilities and found and brought relief in surprises of benignant allowance. Savage Landor and Leigh Hunt were not bitterly injured by his funny reproduction of their weak side. There was a kindly glance at their weakness, as of a mother at her deformed infant. The caricatures are like the originals only in so far as they are kindly and loving. And if he sometimes failed to separate between what Mr. Matthew Arnold calls the world of facts and the world of ideas, he never failed to separate between right and wrong; and while seeking to widen our sympathies, he never attempted to throw dust in the eye of conscience. He was always on the side of right and truth and goodness. In a spirit of kindness he directed society to real life, and led English literature completely out of the enchanted ground of flimsy unreal heroes, with which at the period of his advent, it was still so taken up. He had a rare eye for the lowly naive in real life; and some regret cannot but be felt that in the pressure laid upon him by his countrymen, he should have done some of his work—dealt with some phase of life—in such a light off-hand manner. But his soft, genuinely human faith, diffused through all he wrote, came as a bright relief to the hard fatalistic ideas, then beginning to prevail; and his gentle touches and high hopes for the lowest and weakest of the race, did much to help a genuine and true benevolence, however much he may have seemed to dislike philanthropy of a certain kind.

THE LORDS AND THE IRISH LAND BILL.

LAST night the Peers commenced the serious discussion of the Irish Land Bill, which, it may be almost said, is their first set debate of the Session. There was no special excitement, or crowded attendance of spectators such as marked the second reading of the Irish Church Bill about the same time last year. Their Lordships not only do not mean war, and are fain to admit the imperious demands of necessity. The tactics of 1869, therefore, are not to be repeated, and the second reading without a division is to be no excuse for transforming the Bill in Committee. Although the debate stands adjourned, there is no prospect of Lord Oranmore's hostile amendment being accepted, even if it be put to the vote; and, instead of all kinds of dangerous and insidious alterations being thrown down before a House hostile to the proposals of the Government, the Duke of Richmond, as leader of the Opposition, has, at this early stage, given notice of the specific amendments he will be prepared to move in Committee. Their Lordships, therefore, appear disposed to deal with this great measure in the fashion indicated by the Earl of Derby—accepting all they possibly can, and opposing only when they think they must.

The tenor of last night's debate was anything but favourable to the spirit of obstruction. Earl Granville, in his felicitous opening speech, touched upon the points most likely to weigh with a Parliament of landowners—dwelling especially upon the imperative urgency of legislative intervention; upon the provisions of the Bill as having been carefully framed with a view to give protection to the tenant without withdrawing security from the landlord; upon the absurdity of the demand for rigid "freedom of contract," which the law in many respects, and with general concurrence, has restricted; and upon the general tendency of the measure, by facilitating peaceful relations between the owner and occupier of the soil, to increase the value of landed property and the incomes of the landlords. The Ministerial leader received valuable support from Earl Russell, who, in a generous, large-hearted, and decisive speech, accepted the Bill as a final and beneficial settlement of a long-standing grievance, and announced his intention to vote for no amendments whatever. Such an announcement coming from a veteran statesman who occupies an independent position, and is somewhat prone to candid criticism, cannot fail to have great influence in the final decision. Lord Dufferin, the only other distinguished speaker on the Ministerial side, gave the Bill a qualified support. His Lordship, though member of the Government, has taken a prominent part in the Irish land controversy, and all his property is situated in Ireland. He has more-

over been always sceptical of the value of that Ulster tenant-right which the measure proposes to legalise. Nevertheless Lord Dufferin, as a large landed proprietor, recommends the House of Lords to pass the Bill without material alteration, believing that its main provisions are in themselves fair and equitable, perfectly consistent with a fair interpretation of the rights of property, and likely to conduce to the peace and prosperity of Ireland.

Lord Dufferin's plea of necessity as the most cogent reason for accepting the Bill was also urged by the leader of the Opposition. The Duke of Richmond, while deeming it necessary to protest against the interference with the rights of property proposed in the Irish Land Bill, was candid enough to admit that not the tenants only, but the landlords of Ireland, were anxious that the present settlement should be accepted. He therefore thought their Lordships "would incur a great responsibility, and considerable odium, if they rejected the Bill, and thus exposed Ireland during the autumn to renewed agitation, and rendered probable the introduction of a Bill which would be worse in its character, if any could be worse than the present." His Grace objected to that portion of the measure which facilitates the creation of a peasant proprietor. The Marquis of Salisbury, on the other hand, approves of the principle of Mr. Bright's scheme, believing that Irish landlords are numerically too few, and that if there had been more small proprietors in Ireland this Bill would never have been necessary. This is an unexpected admission from such a quarter. His lordship does not threaten to play the part he enacted last year. He is ready to accept the principle of compensation for improvements, but is strongly opposed to the compensation given to tenants for disturbance in their holdings, which he regards as establishing a new source of bitterness between landlord and tenant, and adding one more to the causes of acrimonious difference which already separate too widely the classes of the Irish people. But Lord Salisbury forgets to state that the object of this arrangement is to prevent capricious evictions, and that it applies only to unjust landlords. To the dismal picture of discord and litigation which his lordship has drawn, we prefer the opinion of the experienced *Times* Commissioner that the clauses of the Bill will have rather a deterrent than an operative effect—preventing law-suits, and placing owner and occupier on such a position of equality that they can treat with advantage to both parties.

Though the Duke of Richmond avows that he does not intend to touch any of the cardinal points of the Bill, some of the amendments of which he has given notice are hardly consistent with his acceptance of the second reading. His Grace would limit leases under the Bill to twenty-one instead of thirty-one years, would greatly reduce the scale of compensation for disturbance, restrict the compensation as to time for improvements, and assume that all improvements belong to the landlord and not to the tenant. These are Mr. Disraeli's amendments over again. But it is evident that though some of them may be carried, none will be insisted upon if pronounced by the Government to be fatal to the object of the Bill. On the whole, their lordships so far deserve credit for their favourable reception of the Irish Land Bill, which the Duke of Richmond engages shall not be upset by a side wind. "Happy the Parliament," said Earl Russell in the impressive peroration of his speech, "that shall agree to a measure which, instead of heaping penalty on penalty, and making the law more and more harsh and severe, is ready in both its Houses to listen to the claims of justice, and is able to look forward to peace and prosperity as the result of its efforts." We trust that the Peers are not unwilling to receive their share of the benediction of the venerable Whig statesman.

SCHOOLS OF HOPE.

ONE of the principal merits of the great writer whose unexpected death the whole country is at the present moment sadly deplored, was the warm and sympathetic manner in which he espoused the cause of the labouring poor, vindicating their claim to be efficiently assisted in the struggle with the demoralising influences continually surrounding them, and earnestly pointing out how, if they possessed many faults and vices, they had also not a few virtues and redeeming qualities. It was Charles Dickens who, courageously diving into the dark and murky recesses of our London courts and alleys, dragged forth strange and repulsive specimens of humanity, and sternly dangled them before us that we might be reminded of our seeming neglect, our apathy with respect to the wants and aspirations of our poorer

brethren. He showed us how frequently our vaunted civilisation was little better than a gigantic sham; that while we were eloquently discoursing of social progress, the foul and noxious weeds of Ignorance, Vice, Crime, and Misery were growing apace, even in the fairest and brightest portions of the stately social fabric. But the author of "Oliver Twist" was not the first in this work. Others had preceded him; even while his pen was busy indignantly denouncing the debased condition in which we permitted thousands of our poorer fellow-creatures to remain, there were many great-hearted men and women nobly and unceasingly striving to remedy the social anomalies and evils against which the fiery shafts of his marvellous genius were so unspuriously hurled. But there was little recognition of the laborious efforts of these workers. It is so easy to denounce evil, and so difficult to eulogise good. What Charles Dickens was perpetually demanding that his fellow-countrymen should energetically assist in doing, the humble and patient soldiers of the Cross were, in their own quiet, unpretentious manner, bravely and persistently striving to accomplish. What would have been the present physical state of thousands and tens of thousands of the poor and suffering had there been no hearts overflowing with Christian love and tenderness to minister to their wants and breathe to them words of hope and consolation?

Bad, terribly bad, as is the present state of affairs, it would have been a thousand times worse but for the innumerable religious agencies everywhere in active operation. Indeed, it is not too much to say that but for the assiduous and oft-maligned labours of our religious workers, this country would long ago have become involved in the fierce throes of social anarchy and confusion. While Sunday Leaguers are idly prating of the imaginary gloom of the Christian Sabbath, while so-called "Free Thought Churches" are hypocritically reviling the creed they cannot overthrow, the multitude are day by day learning how closely and effectually the spread of true Christianity affects not only their moral, but also their social and physical welfare. No better example of this can be adduced than the simple but touching story of Chequer Alley. It is situated in one of the poorest and most densely populated districts in the metropolis, almost within a stone's throw of the field of labour so worthily occupied by Mr. Orsman, the "Bishop of Golden-lane." The alley is a kind of narrow and irregular avenue leading from Bunhill-row to Whitecross-street, and having multitudinous blind and semi-blind courts branching out from it left and right. Within a small square space, not larger than many a country squire's paddock, are to be found crowded together a population of some 15,000 or more souls. How this is effected we know not, unless it be on the principle of a closely-packed portmanteau. At any rate, however limited may be the amount of lodging accommodation, the people are there, and a strange population they are. They are as completely separated in their habits and character from the well-to-do citizens of the English metropolis as if they were the swarthy inhabitants of a South African kraal. Until recently their moral sensibilities appeared completely deadened; with many honesty was but a name, self-respect had scarcely any existence, while vice, intemperance, and licentiousness thronged as do unwholesome plants under the fostering heat of a tropical sun.

Some four or five years ago there was frequently to be seen in the neighbourhood of Chequer-alley a tall, well-built, and fashionably attired man, wearing gold rings and flourishing a cane in his hand. This individual was a professional thief-trainer. He actually had a lecture-room in the alley, where he attended regularly for the purpose of giving lectures in pocket-picking. Fortunately for the interests of the community, he fell into the clutches of the law, and speedily found himself in prison. All the inhabitants were not, however, of a wholly depraved or dishonest class. The majority were poor rather than bad. They were the helpless victims of circumstances. Not a few obtained an honest but precarious living as costermongers, stallkeepers, hawkers, street-labourers, crossing-sweepers, ballad-singers, and the like. But they were all more or less affected by the contaminating influence of their evil surroundings. So marked were the effects of this unhappy state of things, that for the last thirty or forty years there have not been wanting earnest Christian workers to undertake the duty of bringing this poor neglected population to some extent within the reach of purer and more elevating agencies. In this praiseworthy labour the Wesleyan body have long occupied a foremost place, the history of their Chequer-alley Mission illustrating, in the most interesting possible manner what a single woman—though poor and

humble—can do with the aid of earnestness and fixity of purpose. The annals of Wesleyan home missionary effort contain no page more bright or encouraging than that on which is recorded the efforts of Miss Macarthy. The Wesleyans may well feel proud of their zealous representative among these poor people. But she was not the first in the field. The work of Christian instruction was commenced about seventeen or eighteen years previously in a similar thoroughfare close by, and known as Blue Anchor-alley. Here a Sunday-school was successfully established and carried on for fully twenty-eight years, when new schools were erected in Chequer-alley. This was in 1850. The ground on which the schools—very appropriately designated "The Hope Schools for All"—were built was, in the first instance, granted by the Society of Friends, but the building itself was erected by the exertions of Mr. Greig, of the City-road, with funds mainly collected or contributed by him. Mr. Greig retained the building for a few years, using it as a British day and Sunday-school; and then let it to the Committee of Hope Schools, at a nominal rent, until his death, which took place four years ago, when the building came into the hands of the School Committee.

As usual with movements of this character, the labours of those connected with the schools became directed into numerous channels, each tending to one common object—the improvement of the moral, social, and physical condition of the surrounding neighbourhood. Thus it was that the present comprehensive and useful system of Sunday evening and week-day evening services, day-schools, evening-schools, mothers' meetings, penny bank, band of hope, lectures, entertainments, adult classes, parents' library, &c., became established. More recently the system of flower-shows has been introduced, large quantities of flower-seeds being regularly distributed among the children attending the schools. It would be difficult to define precisely the amount of good effected through the instrumentality of these schools, but that it must be considerable is evident from the improving character of the locality. Chequer-alley is not like what it was a few years ago. True, it might be much better, but it has been much worse. The thin end of the wedge has been inserted, and the amount of leverage is daily increasing. The Christian workers have done more to promote habits of decency and honesty among the once neglected denizens of Chequer-alley than ever could have been effected by all the terrors of the law. The Gospel missionary is more potent in preventing evil than is the policeman. Yet the world seldom, if ever, hears of these praiseworthy but unassuming labourers. They have neither time nor inclination to blow their own trumpets. They are content with the approval of their own hearts. Yet they stand not alone. In all parts of the metropolis, nay, in all parts of the kingdom, are to be found others labouring in the same efficient but unostentatious manner, and with the same unselfish motives. Day after day are they to be met with at their posts, bravely and even heroically combating the evils of Sin, Ignorance, and Misery. There is no faltering on their part. They are not ashamed of their cause. But who hears their names mentioned? By whom are their praises sung? Truly, the world knows not its real heroes. In an age when tinsel and shams command the applause of the crowd this is natural. But it is an anomaly which cannot for ever exist.

A REMARKABLE ESCAPE took place a day or two ago on the railway near Mirfield. A train was proceeding from Mirfield to Huddersfield, and in one compartment was a woman with two little boys. Whilst one of them, a little fellow about six, was leaning against the door, it flew open, and he fell out. The second boy escaped falling out by clinging tenaciously to the handle. The excitement in the carriage was great, and the mother was only prevented from getting out by main force. The passengers, by waving their hats and shouting out of the window, managed to attract the attention of the driver, who stopped the train. Just at this juncture a train passed in the opposite direction; yet, fortunately, the little fellow escaped all, and was seen running up the line asking for its mother. It was only bruised on one knee and scratched on its forehead.

CITY CLERKS.—In some parts of London it is impossible to find a sufficient number of skilled workmen in various departments both of useful and ornamental art; such as joiners, decorators, and even carpenters and metal-workers. The young men who ought to supply the demand prefer starving on the "beggarly respectability" of office-work. There is a growing dislike to manual labour amongst the lower section of the middle class which is painfully apparent to those who see much of commercial life. Parents are eager to get their sons into houses of business where they may maintain the appearance, if not the standing, of gentlemen. The city is crowded with well-educated lads, who are doing men's work for boys' wages.—*Leisure Hour*.

Foreign and Colonial.

FRANCE.

On Wednesday there was, it seems, a sharp debate in the Legislative Body on the subject of the plebiscite. Several members of the Left called in question the manner in which the voting had been conducted. M. Ollivier refused to allow this. Finally, M. Gambetta proposed a resolution condemnatory of the Minister of War, which was rejected by the House. The *Constitutionnel* denies that there is any intention on the part of the Ministry to dissolve the Legislative Body.

M. Clement Duvernois, the editor of the *Peuple Français*, and a Deputy, has been dismissed by the Emperor from the former position on account of the hostility displayed by him towards M. Ollivier and his Ministry.

M. Ollivier proposes to send a commission over to England, to make inquiries in reference to the working of the code of criminal procedure, having specially in view the question how far the publicity of all proceedings is compatible with the ends of justice.

The results of the elections for the Conseils-Généraux, known up to the present time, are as follows:—The numbers of Conservatives re-elected is 253, and of Radicals, 5; the number of newly-elected Conservatives is 118, and of newly-elected Radicals, 25.

SPAIN.

General Prim, at the meeting of the Spanish Cortes on Saturday, made his expected statement on the question of the monarchy. He admitted having treated with four candidates in succession for the acceptance of the crown without result, but held out hopes that within the next three months he might be more successful. He denied having any favour for the candidature of Prince Alphonse of Asturias, as the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty would never have his support. He concluded by assuring the House that no fears need be entertained of any disorders during the present interregnum. No sign was made by the partisans of the Duke de Montpensier, but Senor Rios Roas expressed a wish that the present provisional state of things should cease. The House adjourned, however, without adopting any resolution on this point.

The Cortes will probably be prorogued towards the end of the month, and will not reassemble before October or November.

AMERICA.

President Grant has sent a message to Congress condemning the manner in which the conflict in Cuba is waged on both sides. He represents that the object of the Cubans in urging the concession of belligerent rights is to embroil America in a war with Spain; he declares his inability to see that the present conditions of the contest constitute war in the sense laid down by international law. He invites the attention of Congress to all the bearings of the question in connection with the declaration of neutrality and the granting of belligerent rights. The message has been referred by the Committee of the Senate on Foreign Affairs. A motion to lay it on the table has been negatived in the House of Representatives.

NEW ZEALAND.

New Zealand papers confirm the statements of the Colonial Office telegram that Te Kooti had been vigorously pursued by the friendly natives, and that his party had been broken up. At a late engagement Te Kooti lost nineteen men killed, and 325 of his followers were taken prisoners.

The *Melbourne Argus* says:—"The task of capturing Te Kooti has been entrusted to the native allies, the terms of their agreement with the Government being that they should be supplied with rations, and, in the event of their capturing Te Kooti and thoroughly breaking up his force, that they should be paid a certain fixed sum. They are led by Major Kemp, with his Wanganuis; Major Ropata, with his Arawas and Ngatiparous; and Topia, the latest convert to Philo-Pakehaism. At this time the position of Te Kooti was not known, almost the only clue to his movements being a wish that he had been heard to express, to be allowed to settle down on his friend Hakaria's country, in the Uriwera district. Acting on this information, Ropata set out early in March to penetrate the Uriwera country, by way of Ngatapa, with a considerable force, and nothing was heard of his movements for many days. Great anxiety was occasioned through the secrecy with which the rebels conducted their operations, but towards the middle of the month it became known to Kemp and Topia, the other two leaders of the friendly natives, that Te Kooti was somewhere about the head of the Opotiki River—in his old haunts in the eastern part of the Uriwera country, and a considerable distance from the Warkari-Moana Lake, in the neighbourhood of which it was expected that he would be found. Te Kooti, or some of his party, did attempt a new raid on the Poverty Bay district, in which they overpowered a party of friendly natives at a pah near Opape, killing two of them, one being the only son of Wm. Marsh, a very popular chief of the Arawa tribe. Te Kooti captured a number of women and children, whom he carried off to the mountains. Ropata traversed the Uriwera district without learning anything of the whereabouts of Te Kooti, but took Hakaria's pah, and about fifty prisoners, and subsequently he and Kemp joined their forces, and found the object of their search. On March 25 they attacked Mareatai pah, which was occupied by Te Kooti, and after an hour's engage-

ment, captured it, killing nineteen men, including the chief Hakaria, who was one of Mr. Volkner's murderers, and taking 325 prisoners.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

It is understood that Messrs. Rothschild have declined to negotiate a loan for the Pope.

It is announced in a Berlin telegram that Count Bismarck is about to visit England.

Prince Arthur has been invested with the Order of St. Michael and St. George by the Governor-General of Canada.

The cholera has been very severe on the east coast of Africa, though it has now abated. A despatch from Zanzibar states that the total number of deaths has been 14,000.

Baron Liebig is lying dangerously ill. He has recently submitted to two painful operations, and, although believing that death is near, is perfectly clear and cheerful.

The diamond known as the "Star of South Africa," the consignment of which from the Cape of Good Hope was reported in July last, having been cut, has proved a matchless stone of most resplendent quality, of about 186 grains weight.

LOSS OF A BRITISH GUNBOAT.—From Bombay we hear of the loss of the gunboat Slaney, on the 16th ult., in a gale. Three of the officers and forty-three of the men were drowned. The Adventure and the Salamis had gone to render assistance.

THE AMERICAN CENSUS.—The work of taking the ninth census of the United States began on the first day of June, and is looked forward to with much interest. The plans for making the census of 1870 complete are very extensive, requiring the personal visit of an "assistant marshal" to every house, family, farm, mine, mill, shop, and the questioning of many millions of individuals. A fine of thirty dollars is imposed on every one who refuses to answer. The census is to be complete and deposited in the Department of the Interior at Washington by the 1st of November next.

ANOTHER NUN STORY.—The *Eastern Budget* reports a nun story from Linz, in Austria. A nun in the convent of that town lately claimed protection of the new laws, left the convent, and is now residing at Vienna. She took with her to the establishment a dower of twenty thousand florins, and when every other argument failed to persuade her to remain, Bishop Rudigier stated that if she persisted in her determination not a penny of her fortune would be restored to her. The nun, however, we are told, was not to be dissuaded from her purpose, and told the Bishop that she would rather go to service than remain in the convent any longer. Persecution by the sisterhood is assigned as the cause of the step.

THE GREAT FIRE AT PERA.—A Constantinople telegram says that the statements of the number of dead bodies found in the ruins at Pera are very conflicting. The *Turk* says, according to the police account the number is 104 (the telegraph here has evidently dropped a figure). The *Courier* says 953, the *Levant Times* 1,300, and the *Herald* says that more than 300 had been discovered up to Wednesday last. The number of bodies hitherto actually interred into the Latin, Greek, Armenian, and Protestant cemeteries is 122, and of these twenty-two were Protestants. No Jews or Mahomedans are included in this number. Nearly 1,000 houses in the Turkish quarter have been opened to the Christians, and large sums are being subscribed by all parties, religious differences being entirely laid aside.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT IN GERMANY.—Dr. F. von Holzendorff, Professor of Law in the University of Berlin, in a letter to Mr. William Tallack, the Secretary of the Howard Association, London, writes, in reference to the uniform imposition of the new penal code on all the North German States:—"I consider it impossible to execute any man in the states of Saxony, Oldenburg, and Bremen, where capital punishment was abolished prior to the promulgation of the new code. *De facto* these countries will maintain their present custom, under a disguise of commuting all capital sentences." He adds that, although by a bare majority, the North German Parliament rescinded its vote for abolition under pressure from Count Bismarck, yet "up to the last moment the majority were against capital punishment," and only yielded to prevent the total postponement of the new code, and from a consideration that, under its provisions, the capital penalty will be restricted in future to two crimes in Prussia, instead of extending to fourteen as previously.

THE GREEK BRIGANDS.—The *Journal Officiel*, of Paris, in its bulletin of foreign news, which is compiled in the office of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, says:—"It is supposed that the chief and the remnants of the Arvaniti band have made their way to Asia Minor. Accounts from Smyrna state that several brigands who recently disembarked upon the coast are being actively pursued by the Turkish troops, and it is thought that these brigands may be those of whom all trace has been lost in Europe, despite the strictest search. The Greek Government has caused the arrest of a number of persons suspected of complicity with the brigands, and there is reason to believe that now it has once embarked upon a course of watchfulness and just severity, it will proceed to the utmost extent necessary. The Government has authorised the formation of a body of volunteers for the protection of Attica."

MANITOBA.—Manitobah Lake, which lies northwest of Fort Garry, and has given a title to the province formed out of the Red River region, derives its name from a small island from which, in the stillness of night, issues a "mysterious voice." On no account will the Ojibways approach or land upon this island, supposing it to be the home of the Manitobah—"the Speaking God." The cause of this curious

sound is the beating of the waves on the "shingle," or large pebbles lining the shores. Along the northern coast of the island there is a long low cliff of fine-grained compact limestone, which, under the stroke of the hammer, clinks like steel. The waves beating on the shore at the foot of the cliff cause the fallen fragments to rub against each other, and to give out a sound resembling the chimes of distant church bells. This phenomenon occurs when the gales blow from the north, and then, as the winds subside, low, wailing sounds, like whispering voices, are heard in the air. Travellers assert that the effect is very impressive, and have been awakened at night under the impression that they were listening to church bells.

A HINDOO WOMAN'S CONVERSION.—A letter in the *Record* gives an account of a trial which has just taken place at Calcutta involving the right of a Hindoo woman to choose her own religion. It seems that a young woman, whose friends belong to the Brahmo Somaj, and are related (the letter seems to imply) to Keshub Chunder Sen, forsook the tenets of her fathers and was baptised. Her relatives got a writ of habeas corpus, and secured influential counsel, but the judge decided against them, and gave the woman her liberty. "She at once," the writer says, "in open court, in the most unhesitating way, intimated that she would not return to her relatives. However, before judgment was recorded, she was again removed to a private room, in order that her mother might try again to shake her resolution. No Christian friend was permitted to enter. Presently wails and shrieks and howlings of grief reached us. After a painful interval the young woman was again called forth into the midst, evidently much agitated, and you may imagine the trying ordeal in a court crammed with spectators. She also had never before been beyond the walls of the Zenana till within the last week. By God's grace she stood firm, and in a firm voice replied to the question where she decided to go—'To the Padre Sahiba.' The excitement is immense among the natives. All Calcutta is in a ferment."

BRIGANDAGE IN SPAIN.—A Gibraltar correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette* writes:—"A most daring attempt at brigandage occurred last night. Two officers of the 71st Highlanders were returning from the fair at Algeciras, a little town just opposite Gibraltar, and were riding at smart canter along the beach about half-past eight at night. One of them was about a hundred yards before the other. The one who was behind, seeing two men on foot coming towards him, pulled a little out of their way to allow them to pass. As he met them the man nearest him stepped towards the horse, made a motion as if to stab the horse, and then jumped aside. The rider thought nothing had happened, but after a few more strides he felt his horse totter under him, and in a second more the animal fell on his head. His rider being unknotted from having fallen on the sand, sprang up, and running to the horse found him streaming with blood. The poor beast died in a moment or two stabbed to the heart. The two miscreants, who were standing where they were when the horse passed them, directly they saw the horse down gave a yell, brandished their knives, and ran at the officer, who, having nothing but a riding-stick in his hand, gave a shout to his friend and ran as hard as possible. His friend luckily heard the shout, and came riding back. The other jumped up behind, and they rode to the Spanish lines to give information. This scene occurred about two miles from the Spanish lines. This event has created rather an excitement on the Rock, and Gibraltar generally is preparing revolvers and defensive weapons. If some important change does not take place in the Spanish Administration, brigandage here will assume far more important dimensions."

THE FENIAN LEADER IN THE LATE RAID.—Among other interesting incidents connected with the recent invasion of Canada by the Fenians, we learn from the *New York Herald* that after the United States Marshal had captured General O'Neill and carried him off in a buggy, he found that gallant officer's nervousness rendered him a most fidgety and uncomfortable companion. He therefore proposed "to administer a stimulant." General O'Neill at once expressed his cordial approbation of this course of proceeding. The two, therefore, on reaching a place called Highgate, alighted from the carriage and, arm-in-arm, proceeded to a convenient place to obtain some whisky. General O'Neill poured out nearly a tumblerful of the fluid, and drank it off without flinching, to the astonishment of the bar-keeper, who remarked that the General "drank like a Fenian." General O'Neill, together with his love for Ireland, seems to combine a certain amount of affection for the ordinary enjoyments of life, for one complaint against him is that on the morning of the attack, when awakened at three o'clock by a captain belonging to his quarters, he merely said, "All right," and fell asleep again. On two subsequent occasions he was awakened with no more practical result, and on being called a fourth time got up. Even then, however, he declined to proceed at once with the glorious work of liberating Ireland, but said "he guessed he would wait till breakfast." When we remember that all this time, while General O'Neill was sleeping and eating, Ireland was groaning, or supposed to be groaning, beneath the heel of the tyrant, and that General O'Neill, by invading Canada, was able, or supposed to be able, to give her immediate relief from suffering, we are not surprised to hear that some of the Fenians are very indignant, and threaten the moment General O'Neill leaves his prison to shoot him dead for treachery. It further appears that General O'Neill rode on a little pony, in citizen's clothes, his toes almost touching the ground, and a large cavalry sword dangling at his side.—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

DEATH OF MR. CHARLES DICKENS.

The announcement of the decease of this distinguished author has been received with universal regret and sympathy. On Wednesday evening Mr. Dickens was seized with a fit of apoplexy, at his residence, Gad's Hill-place, Higham, near Rochester, between six and seven o'clock, while at dinner. Mr. Stephen Steele, a surgeon at Strood, was sent for, and promptly arrived. He found Mr. Dickens in a very dangerous state, and remained with him for some hours. A physician was summoned from London on Thursday morning, and Mr. Steele was also in attendance. Unfortunately, there was no improvement in the patient. In the afternoon Mr. Steele was again summoned from Strood. The reports in the after part of the day were discouraging, and shortly after six o'clock the great novelist expired, having been almost from the first in an unconscious state. The day of his death was, strange to say, the anniversary of the Staplehurst accident, in which it will be remembered he was in great peril, and from which some of those nearest to him consider he received a physical shock from which he never really recovered. The friends in the habit of meeting Mr. Dickens privately recall now the energy with which he depicted that dreadful scene, and how as the climax of his story came, and its dread interest grew, he would rise from the table, and literally act the parts of the several sufferers to whom he had lent a helping hand.

The deceased was the son of Mr. John Dickens, who at one time held a position in the Navy Pay Department, and he was born in Portsmouth in the month of February, 1812. The duties of his father's office obliged him frequently to change his residence, and much of the future novelist's infancy was spent at Plymouth, Sheerness, Chatham, and other seaport towns. The European war, however, came to an end before he had completed his fourth year, and his father, finding his "occupation gone," retired on a pension and came to London, where he obtained employment as a Parliamentary reporter for one of the daily papers. It was at first intended that young Charles should be sent to an attorney's office; but he had literary tastes, and eventually was permitted by his father to exchange the law for a post as one of the reporters on the staff of the *True Sun*, from which he subsequently transferred his services to the *Morning Chronicle*, then under the late Mr. John Black, who accepted and inserted in the evening edition of his journal the first fruits of the pen of Charles Dickens—those "Sketches of English Life and Character" which were afterwards reprinted and published in a collective form under the title of "Sketches by Boz," in 1836, and the following year. These "Sketches" at once attracted notice, and Messrs. Chapman and Hall requested "Boz" to write for them a serial story in monthly parts; the result was the publication of the "Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club," which raised the author almost at a single step to the highest pinnacle of literary fame. Illustrated at first by Mr. Seymour, and afterwards by Mr. Hablot K. Browne ("Phiz"), the "Pickwick Papers" found an enormous sale from their first appearance, and Mr. Charles Dickens presented himself to the world as their author in 1836.

The great success of "Pickwick" naturally led to offers being made to Mr. Dickens by the London publishers; but the author wisely consulted his own reputation, and confined himself to the production of "Nicholas Nickleby" in a similar style and form. The work was written to expose in detail the cruelties which were practised upon orphans and other neglected children at small and cheap schools, where the sum charged for the board of hungry and growing lads, with everything included, ranges from 18/- to 20/- a year. Mr. Dickens tells us, in the preface to this book, as it stands republished in the collective edition of his works, that it was the result of a personal visit of inspection paid by himself to some nameless "Dothsboys' hall" amid the wolds of Yorkshire; and the reader who has carefully studied it will with difficulty be persuaded that Mr. Squeers and Mr. John Browdie are not taken from living examples. The work was published in 1838. About the same time he commenced in the pages of *Bentley's Miscellany*, of which he was the first editor, a tale of a very different cast. "Oliver Twist" lets the reader into the secrets of life as it was, and, perhaps, still is, to be found too often in workhouses and in the "slums" of London. When finished it was republished as a novel in three volumes, and in that shape too enjoyed an extensive sale. The following year Mr. Dickens undertook the production of a collection of stories in weekly numbers. The series was entitled "Master Humphrey's Clock," and it contained, among other tales, those since republished under the names of "The Old Curiosity Shop,"—famous for its touching episode of "Little Nell," and of "Barnaby Rudge," which carries the reader back to the days of the Gordon Riots.

The pen of Mr. Charles Dickens was henceforth almost incessantly at work. After completing "Master Humphrey's Clock," he visited America, where he was received with extraordinary honours. On his return, in 1842, he published the materials which he had collected in the United States under the title, "American Notes for General Circulation." Many of its statements, however, were controverted by American pens in a book entitled, "Change for American Notes." In 1844 he published "Martin Chuzzlewit" in numbers, like "Pickwick" and "Nicholas Nickleby," and in the summer of the same year visited Italy and Rome. An account of much that he saw and heard in this tour he gave afterwards to the world in the columns of the *Daily News*, of which he became the first editor. Its first number appeared on January 1, 1846; but after a few

months Mr. Dickens withdrew from the editorship, and returned to his former line of humorous serial publications, varying, however, their monthly appearances with occasional stories of a more strictly imaginative cast, called "Christmas Books." Of these the first, "A Christmas Carol," was published so far back as 1843; the second, the "Chimes," appeared at Christmas, 1845; the third, the "Cricket on the Hearth," followed in 1846; the fourth, the "Battle of Life," in 1847; and the fifth, the "Haunted Man and the Ghost's Bargain," in 1848. Besides these Mr. Dickens has published "Dealing with the Firm of Dombey and Son," the "History of David Copperfield," "Bleak House," "Little Dorrit," "A Tale of Two Cities," "Our Mutual Friend," the "Uncommercial Traveller," "Great Expectations," and last of all the "Mystery of Edwin Drood," of which only three numbers have appeared. In 1850 Mr. Dickens projected a cheap weekly periodical which he called *Household Words*, and which was published by Messrs. Bradbury and Evans; but, difficulties having arisen between author and publisher, it was discontinued in 1859, and Mr. Dickens commenced in its stead its successor, *All the Year Round*, which he continued to conduct to the last.

Mr. Dickens was one of the founders of the Guild of Literature, and was an ardent advocate of reforms in the administration of the Literary Fund. He was also an accomplished amateur performer, and often took part in private theatricals for charitable objects. Of late years he had frequently appeared before the public as a "reader" of the most popular portions of his own works, of which he showed himself to be a most vivid and dramatic interpreter. He retired from this work only in March last, when his reputation stood at its highest.

Mr. Arthur Helps, on becoming acquainted with the death of Mr. Charles Dickens, telegraphed the lamentable intelligence to the Queen at Balmoral, and immediately received the following sympathetic reply:—"From Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Helps, Council-office.—The Queen commands me to express her deepest regret at the sad news of Charles Dickens's death." This feeling message was at once transmitted to the family at Gad's-hill, and will doubtless tend, as a true expression of human sympathy, to soothe them in their distress.

Of his last work the *Daily News* says:—

"The Mystery of Edwin Drood," we are told, gave its author more trouble than any of his former works. He complained of this, perhaps, with a sad presage of the truth. He had, he thought, told too much of the story in the early numbers, and his thoughts did not flow so freely as of yore. It will remain incomplete for ever, and the fourth part of the story already given to the public, and another part in manuscript, are all that will be known of the last set of original characters their author has introduced to the world. When Mr. Dickens complained of his work giving him trouble, we may be sure that the cause prompting the remark was not slight, for no writer set before himself more laboriously the task of giving the public his very best. A great artist who once painted his portrait while he was in the act of writing one of the most popular of his stories, relates that he was astonished at the trouble Dickens seemed to take over his work, at the number of forms in which he would write down a thought before he hit out the one which seemed to his fanciful fancy the best, and at the comparative smallness of the amount of manuscript each day's sitting seemed to have produced. Those, too, who have seen the original MSS. of his works, many of which he had bound and kept at his residence at Gad's-hill, describe them as full of interlineations and alterations; while it is well known that the quaint surnames of his characters, concerning which essays have been written, were the result of much painstaking. Dickens, with a genius which might have justified his trusting it implicitly and solely, placed his chief reliance on his own hard labour. It is said that when he saw a strange or odd name on a shop board, or in walking through a village or country town, he entered it in his pocket-book, and added it to his reserve list. Then, runs the story, when he wanted a striking surname for a new character, he had but to take the first half of one real name, and add it to the second half of another, to produce the exact effect upon the eye and ear of the reader he desired.

A letter is published which was certainly one of the last written by Mr. Dickens—it may have been his very last—for it is dated the day of the fatal seizure, and under the circumstances it will be read with a good deal of interest. Somebody, with questionable taste, had called Mr. Dickens's attention to a passage in the tenth chapter of "Edwin Drood" as likely to wound the feelings of religious people by the fact of its containing what the writer was pleased to consider a not quite reverent adhesion to a passage in the Bible, supposed by many to refer to our Lord. Mr. Dickens sent the following reply:—

Gadshill-place, Higham by Rochester, Kent, Wednesday, June 8, 1870.

Dear Sir.—It would be quite inconceivable to me—but for your letter—that any reasonable reader could possibly attach a Scriptural reference to a passage in a book of mine, reproducing a much-abused social figure of speech, impressed into all sorts of service, on all sorts of inappropriate occasions, without the faintest connection of it with its original source. I am truly shocked to find that any reader can make the mistake. I have always striven in my writings to express veneration for the life and lessons of our Saviour; because I feel it; and because I rewrote that history for my children—every one of whom knew it from having it repeated to them, long before they could read, and almost as soon as they could speak. But I have never made proclamation of this from the house-tops.

Faithfully yours,

CHARLES DICKENS.

The following interesting memoranda are from the London correspondent of the *Scotsman*:—

These who had not seen Mr. Dickens for some time were most struck on meeting him within the

last few months with the sudden whiteness of his hair. From grey he became all at once white, just as Mr. Bright did not long since. I saw him a few weeks ago just before he left town, and his sunburned face seemed set in snow; beard and hair were blanched so perfectly. Beyond question, I think it was "Edwin Drood" that killed him. He went back to work too soon. He had had the idea of the story for some time in his mind, I believe; but after the first impulse of the start was off, he found the development of the incidents and characters slow and painful. Within the last week or so he was complaining much of this. He seemed to make so little progress, and at the cost of such an effort. Perhaps it was the hot weather, he thought, or he was out of sorts, and would get into better trim by-and-bye. But the disorder was deeper and more fatal. Novel-readers know little of the toil and exhaustion with which their amusement is prepared for them. By most people Dickens's writings were probably esteemed the lightest of labour and gay pleasant flash of genius. Thackeray's style was even more facile in appearance; but Thackeray's friends knew too well the slow, grinding process by which his works were produced—wrung from him often word by word in an agony of effort, vainly seeking relief in a change of room from Kensington to the Temple or from the Temple to some other quiet room. Dickens wrote more readily. Perhaps his early training in journalism taught him celerity with the pen, but there was exhaustion in another way. The composition of his stories was attended with a degree of mental excitement which must have been very wearing, though its effects might not be observed all at once. Thackeray used to speak of his puppets. Dickens would declare that his characters were always realities for him, that nobody ever believed his fables more than he did himself as he went on inventing them. Even before his illness last year, he had had warnings of exhaustion. He suffered at times from a terrible sleeplessness which often drove him forth at midnight to walk—his favourite remedy for all troubles—till dawn. Like Wordsworth, he belonged to the school of the peripatetics. Much given myself to walking at all hours, I have come across him often in his rambles, always marching swiftly, with earnest, resolute air, as if bound to be at some given spot by the hour and minute; his quick, glancing eye scanning everything and everybody. Odd bits of street architecture, the mien and gait of passers-by, names over shop doors—nothing was missed. The early markets, Covent Garden and Billingsgate, were favourite haunts. Youthful associations from Portsmouth and other seaports at which his father was stationed, and the quaint picturesqueness of the region, seen even through its dirt, drew him often to Wapping and the far east. The Old Kent-road, over which he took young Copperfield on a memorable journey, was known every step of it to himself. In the story of the "Two Apprentices," which he wrote with Wilkie Collins, he described his own restless, impetuous activity—laborious idleness he called it. All this wear and tear of writing, public readings, and perpetual movement, told even on his vigorous and elastic constitution in the end. The American trip brought him close upon 30,000 miles, but otherwise I doubt whether it did him much good. Altogether the strain was too severe. Then came "Edwin Drood" to put the finishing stroke to the work. Besides the three numbers already published, there are, I believe, three others all but finished for the press. The plot of the story is sketched out, and it is hoped that sufficient materials remain at least for the solution of the mystery which forms the basis of the tale. The funeral is not yet fixed, but will probably be on Thursday or Friday next. There is talk of a burial in Westminster Abbey, and it will rest with the family to decide it. In any case, there will certainly be a monument there. Literature, like virtue, is too often only its own reward. But it may be mentioned that the author of "Pickwick," starting as a Parliamentary reporter, and without any aid but his own energy and genius, acquired a considerable fortune, which he leaves to his family. I believe there is also no doubt that the Queen, who has always been glad if he would have accepted some public dignity, but the hereditary difficulty led him to decline it.

The *Times* notes that in the last novel which Mr. Dickens ever completed, and in the last paragraph of its last page, he wrote words which now possess a remarkable interest:—

On Friday, the ninth of June, in the present year (1865), Mr. and Mrs. Boffin (in their manuscript dress of receiving Mr. and Mrs. Lammale at breakfast) were on the South-Eastern Railway with me in a terribly destructive accident. When I had done what I could to help others, I climbed back into my carriage—nearly turned over a viaduct, and caught aslant upon the turn—to extricate the worthy couple. They were much soiled, but otherwise unharmed. The same happy result attended Miss Bella Wilfer on her wedding-day, and Mr. Rideshead inspecting Bradley Headstone's red neckerchief as he lay asleep. I remember with devout thankfulness that I can never be much nearer parting company with my readers for ever than I was then, until there shall be written against my life the two words with which I have this day closed this book—THE END.

It is now strange to observe that just five years later, on the very same day of the very same month, the end came.

The London Stereoscopic Company have just issued an admirable vignette likeness of the deceased novelist, with *fac simile* signature attached.

THE VALUE OF TEA TO THE SEDENTARY.—For a long time it was doubted whether, beyond its temporary effects in stimulating and refreshing the system, tea possessed any value, or contained any real nourishment whatever. This question must be considered as having been satisfactorily settled by Baron Liebig. He declares that theine, the peculiar principle of tea, is the substance most easily converted to the formation of bile, and that by means of it the supply of that necessary fluid can be kept up in those who live on a low diet and can take but little exercise. This accounts for the popularity of tea with poor people and those who lead sedentary lives.—*Cassell's Household Guide*.

Literature.

WILKES AND COBBETT.*

In these days of Liberal Conservatism, when Mr. Disraeli boasts of the thirty-two measures designed for the good of the people which have received the support of Lord John Manners and himself, when Mr. Baillie Cochrane endeavours to persuade the electors of the Isle of Wight that he has always been a champion of popular rights, and when there is nothing which a Conservative candidate so much resents as the imputation that he is not a devoted friend of the working classes, it is refreshing to meet a Tory of the old school—one who instead of these modern notions, has an honest dread or hatred of the democracy, and does not hesitate to avow it, and who at the same time is so satisfied of the wisdom of his own opinions, that he cannot understand how any sensible man can hold any others. We are as far as possible removed from any sympathy with such views, but there is a genuineness about them which we cannot but admire, and which is very much to be preferred to the kind of *pseudo*-Liberal talk which numbers adopt who at heart are quite as much opposed to everything like Liberal principle. Mr. Watson, who has just given us new biographies of Wilkes and Cobbett, is a man of this order. He is too fair to allow his opinions largely to affect the character of his work, and in his narration of facts he endeavours to be accurate and impartial; but his opinions are very pronounced, and have affected his choice of subjects and his judgments of them. He is so thorough a Tory, that he seems unable to comprehend how Liberalism and culture can go together, and appears to have an idea that wherever any eminent men have chosen the Liberal side, they have done it out of some miserable personal jealousy rather than from conviction. Burke was always anti-democratic at heart, and the elder Pitt became a leader of Opposition because the Government had slighted his talents; Henry Brougham, "when he was climbing up on the shoulders of the populace," "was aiming at a stand on the Tory platform," and "Macaulay would have stood forth a Conservative had not the Conservatives rebuffed him into a Liberal." So anxious indeed is Mr. Watson to take away from Liberalism every name that is famous or even notorious, that though he does not admire Wilkes and Cobbett, he seems to find a pleasure in insisting that their opposition to Toryism was not from inclination, but from circumstances. They were on the lower level in public affairs when they would rather have been on the higher; they could not gratify their ambition as Tories, and so they became Radicals. How, indeed (asks Mr. Watson) is it possible that a man of education who has read enough to understand the effects of "human action on human society," "should feel within himself other than Conservative tendencies"? If we were inclined to argue upon this remarkable notion—which would make all educated Liberals hypocrites—our first remark would be—what an exceedingly stupid thing Toryism must be which, having these Conservative tendencies to work upon in the case of all men of culture, has still contrived to alienate such large numbers of the most eminent of them from its ranks! There is certainly a new proof of its being the "stupid" party in that, having such men as Brougham and Macaulay, and we know not who besides, at heart with it, it has by mismanagement arrayed them against it. The point is not one, however, which can be argued about, and is really not worth notice except as a revelation of the spirit of the writer. No doubt education has a Conservative influence in the proper sense of the word Conservative, but for any man to ignore the counter tendencies to freedom and progress which have a place in minds of the widest culture, to pass by the illustrious names of those who in our own as well as in all previous times, have devoted themselves to the popular cause, and to write as though all educated men, if free from the bias of personal feeling, would be Tories, is a sign only of a narrow and superficial thinker.

Mr. Watson has chosen Wilkes and Cobbett as specimens of the class "demagogue," and his design is evidently to show how worthless, how full of conceit, how much under the influences of low and selfish motive, how unfitted to the class is render any real service to the Commonwealth. He could hardly have selected a better case for his purpose than that of Wilkes. A more despicable character has rarely if ever played so prominent

a part in public affairs, and the story of his life, as related by Mr. Watson, only serves to strengthen that impression. Still we hardly see the necessity for giving such a biography to the world at present. We knew as much before about this miserable trader on popular sympathy as was at all necessary and desirable, and there is certainly no prospect of any one attempting now to re-enact the same role so as to render it necessary to hold him up as a warning. A warning he is, though not altogether in the sense intended by Mr. Watson. He cannot illustrate the danger of democratic opinions, inasmuch as he never had any,—had never, as he had the impudence to tell George III., been a Wilkite himself, despite all the excitement which had been kindled on his behalf. When we remember the class of men who made the orgies of Medmenham Abbey infamous, we might rather, if we followed the example of Mr. Watson, hold him up as an example of the evils of aristocratic profligacy. It is unfair, however, to assail any class because of the sins of individuals, and certainly the democracy whose generous trust he abused, and whose enthusiasm he employed for his own selfish ends, are the last who ought to answer for the offences of John Wilkes. His career is a warning, not against the mischiefs of demagogism, but against the system of government which gave such a demagogue the power he was able to wield. If the House of Commons had been more independent, if the Ministry had been less tyrannical and oppressive, if the Court had been more entitled to respect, and if public opinion had had a more legitimate way of making itself felt, John Wilkes's career would have been an impossibility. He was the natural production of the state of society to which he belonged. With such men as Grenville and Sir Francis Dashwood as statesmen, with Warburton as the champion of Christianity in the Upper House, and with Sandwich as the defender of public morality, Wilkes as a popular leader is not out of place. Professor Thorold Rogers has sketched his character with much more judgment than Mr. Watson, and has especially called attention to what is perhaps the most remarkable fact in connection with it, the extent to which English liberty profited even by his extravagance and folly, or perhaps we should more correctly say by the mistakes of his opponents. Though (he says), the history of the private and public life of Wilkes justifies those who give an account of his career in delivering a harsh verdict upon him, there is no historical name which is identified with precedents of such singular importance, none which in more closely connected with the visible progress of public liberty and private right." To him we owe the important declaration of the illegality of general warrants, which has ever since been so formidable a hindrance to the exercise of arbitrary power by a Minister. In his long contest for the seat for Middlesex he vindicated the right of the people to elect their own representatives, and overthrew the absurd pretensions of the House of Commons to interfere with the choice of the electors, and by his stand for the liberty of the press to report Parliamentary proceedings, provided one of the most effectual safeguards for the fidelity of the representatives to the represented. There is nothing in the man to admire or in the patriot to trust, but he thus secured for English liberty much more than has been done by many whom Mr. Watson would delight to honour.

William Cobbett was a very different character, and though, in a certain sense, a Democrat, he was a Democrat of a special type, and one with whom we should have expected Mr. Watson to show more sympathy. But he cannot forget that he was an opponent of the heaven-born minister, that he dared to speak plain truths in plain and unpalatable language, relative to the crimes of various members of the Royal Family; that he was at one time a friend to Orator Hunt, and identified with the Radical party. Another ground of dislike to him evidently is that, even after he had engaged in political life, Cobbett continued to prosecute his calling, and was in the habit of advertising his wares—trees, seeds, and the like—in his "Register," often with very needless and unpleasant puffing. He had to live, however, and though this selling of trees was very vulgar, and the mode of advertising them anything but dignified, he might after all have lived in a much worse way; and, if these had been his only faults, they would have been very mild ones. With all his faults, indeed, Cobbett was a man of power, and one who did important service in his day. He was impulsive, he was vain, he had intensely strong prejudices, he had, in fact, just the faults which we might expect to find in a man of imperfect culture, lifted up to the position which he attained. But he was not insincere, even when apparently in

consistent, nor was he a self-seeker; and he was useful in his opposition to the selfishness and wrong-doing he found in many quarters, and especially in his defence of the rights of the farmer and peasant. A more righteous judgment cannot be pronounced on him than that of Professor Thorold Rogers, who here again sets an example of wise discrimination, by which Mr. Watson would do well to profit—"He kept alive much that was true and just in an age when truth and justice were reduced to struggle for existence. We may be sure that there was much that is worthy in a man whose writings were read by millions during his life, and whose coffin was followed by thousands when he was laid in the sepulchre of his fathers." To this day there are parts of the manufacturing districts in which the name of William Cobbett is a power. A man who is able to leave such an impression was behind him deserves different treatment than that which he has received from Mr. Watson.

BEECHER'S SERMONS.*

Mr. Beecher's sermons have for many years past been taken down by a reporter, and it has been frequently our good fortune to read them in the New York papers which have reached us. Many of them have been separately published in this country by Messrs. Sampson Low and Marston, and, on the whole, we should perhaps be wrong in supposing that in our notice of this volume we are introducing to our readers, or to the majority of them, something entirely novel and unfamiliar. But there is too great worth in it to let it therefore pass unnoticed. Containing in bulk three times the amount of matter to be found in an ordinary modern volume of sermons, it embraces the whole circle of Christian doctrine and presents Mr. Beecher's views on some of the more essential points with great force and fulness. The collection which was revised by Mr. Beecher was made by Rev. Lyman Abbott, who had the unenviable task of selecting them from "over five hundred" which Mr. Beecher put into his hands in deference to a desire repeatedly expressed by his friends that he would give them such a collection as would present an authoritative "statement of the views which he has maintained and the methods which he has employed for their representation."

It was hardly to be expected that the editor of this collection, although in consultation with Mr. Beecher himself, should quite escape the danger of repetition, nor could he if he were especially anxious to present a statement of Mr. Beecher's "views," help giving to the volume a controversial and somewhat egotistical character, hence the preacher is too often on his defence; too often the crusader against religious opinions or prejudices which are becoming *effete*. We can easily imagine that Mr. Beecher's characteristic style of address is frequently challenged, and that being himself, "sensitive, quick, full of feeling," he has been from time to time determined in his choice and treatment of a subject by local circumstances of which we can have no knowledge. But it is a misfortune that this selection made from discourses delivered during a ministry of twenty-one years, should contain so many references to opinions "of the contrary part."

Here, however, our criticism ends. We have no words but those of gratitude for a man who gives so much heart cheer as Henry Ward Beecher.

It is difficult to select passages from these sermons for quotation as being more suitable than others. Those who are acquainted with the author's "Life Thoughts," will understand the nature of the difficulty. We take a couple of sermons, almost at random; the first is on "Christian Waiting." It was preached at Charleton in 1855, whither Mr. Beecher had gone to deliver an address on the occasion of raising the flag over Fort Sumter:

"What is God doing in this world? By day and by night, in light and in darkness, by good and by evil, by His friends and by His enemies, God is building up a kingdom among men. He is laying the foundations of it as broad as the earth, and He will carry up the superstructure as high as the heavens. God is the architect. God is superintending the work, and all men are His workmen. There are many men who are glad to help God build this world-kingdom of righteousness, and who do it on purpose; but there are millions and millions of men who think, while they are hewing, and sawing, and shaping wood, and quarrying and chiselling stone, and working, that they are building a house for themselves, and that they are carrying out their own plans; while God, that sits far above all men, sees that they are working for Him, and that the materials with which many of them meant to build their own house are going into the foundations of the house that He is building. He sees that all those evil influences by which men are seeking to defeat righteousness and overthrow justice in this world, are made in the end to promote righteous-

* Sermons by Henry Ward Beecher. (Sampson Low, Son, and Marston.)

ness and justice. . . . God, then, is building up a kingdom that is invisible; a kingdom that cannot be discerned by the outward man; a spiritual kingdom of holy thoughts, of pure feelings, of faith, of hope, of righteousness. This kingdom advances little by little. It is carried forward by a myriad of different causes. God administers it Himself, and He means that it shall be perfected. He is determined that the whole world shall be filled with His glory, and that all mankind shall be righteous.

"This kingdom progresses very slowly. It meets with great opposition—so great that sometimes you cannot tell whether it is going backward or forward. Unless a man has a great deal of faith, and a great deal of experience, he will often be placed in circumstances where it will seem to him as though everything was retrograding; as though men were growing worse and worse; as though injustice was increasing, and righteousness was diminishing; as though those who strove to be good were of no account, and only the evil were honoured. But God, that is building this great kingdom, sees that though, on account of its magnitude, it is slowly advancing, yet it is advancing surely. . . . It takes time to build things that are to be so well built and so glorious as God's kingdom will be when it is completed. And we are living in an age that resists this work of God—sometimes on purpose, and sometimes not knowing what it does. . . . You tell your child that this pine-tree out here in the sandy field is one day going to be as large as that great sonorous pine that sings to every wind in the wood. The child, incredulous, determines to watch and see whether the field pine really does grow and become as large as you say it will. So, the next morning, he goes out and takes a look at it, and comes back and says, 'It has not grown a particle.' At night he goes out and looks at it again, and comes back and says, 'It has not grown a bit.' The next week he goes out, and looks at it again, and comes back and says, 'It has not grown any yet. Father said it would be as large as the pine-tree in the wood, but I do not see any likelihood of its becoming so.'

"How long did it take that pine-tree in the wood to grow? Two hundred years. The men who lived when it began to grow have been buried, and generations besides have come and gone since then.

"And do you suppose that God's kingdom is going to grow so that you can look at it and see that it has grown during any particular day? You cannot see it grow. All around you are things that are growing, but that you cannot see grow. And if it is so with trees, and things that spring out of the ground, how much more is it so with the kingdom of God? That kingdom is advancing surely, though it advances slowly, and though it is invisible to us."

The practical lesson to be drawn from this thought is thus characteristically indicated:—

There is no use of our being in any more haste than God. He goes fast enough. He will not let you go any faster than He goes, and who are you, that cry because you cannot run before God? Be sure that you keep up with Him; be sure that when He takes a step you take a step too, and step lively, and then you will not need to have any concern. . . . If you consider the whole of life from end to end, then truth, and honour, and purity, and justice, and fidelity pay. If you want to grow quickly, you can grow quickly by wickedness, but you will not last. If you want to grow so as to last, you must adhere to integrity, and you must be contented to grow slowly, if God ordains it. You can grow a mushroom or a toadstool in one night, if you have a dunghill large enough; but to grow an oak-tree, that shall last for generations, requires vastly more time. And if you want men that shall last, you must wait till they can be built up solidly by good conduct; by confidence inspired by good conduct; in other words, by being tried. One ship is as good as another in the harbour. It is outside of the harbour that the comparative merits of different vessels are made to appear. There their qualities, whether superior or inferior, show themselves. It is what ships do on the sea that determines that one is better or worse than another. And as with ships, so with men. Two men start about alike on the morn of life. They go along, at first, about together. But follow them five or ten years, and about the fifth, the sixth, or the seventh year, the one—a man of pleasure, a godless man, a man that does not believe in a divine supervision of the affairs of this world—begins to degenerate; while the other—a sober, Christian man, who believes that God controls the world and all that are in it—in the beginning lays his foundation, going down so deep that he seems for a time to burrow like a marmot; but then, little by little, he begins to work upward, and he builds so that every hour men see that he is building strongly and surely."

The concluding words are full of a fervour which could not be simulated:—

"And now, Christian friends and brethren, all, I call upon you, by the great mercies of God, to present yourselves as living sacrifices, holy, acceptable unto God. Do not tarnish His inestimable gifts by selfishness. Consecrate your hearts at once to the divine service. Be willing to work, and let others have the praise. Be willing to work, and let others reap the fruits of your labour. Be like Christ, who gave His life to save men. Be more noble. Heroically bear your cross. Carry your burden without a murmuring. It is only a little while that we shall have to suffer. We are almost down to the river, and it is not half so deep as you think. We are coming to the shore already, and methinks I hear, wafted from the other side, that sweetest song of them that cry ceaselessly, 'Come, come.' They are crying to you, and they are crying to me, 'Come up hither, and wear the bridal robes at the marriage-supper of the Lamb.' Every one of us must go sooner or later; by-and-bye we shall all be there; and oh! the joy that is laid up for us who serve Christ! . . . Let us then stand in our place, be men, gird up our loins, trim our lamps, and be found ready to depart whenever Christ shall say to us, 'Come.' And when at last we come together in heaven, oh! meet me, every one of you! Be there, every man and every child. Join we in the home above, that, taking hold of hands around the throne of God, we may unite in sending up a song of blessing, and honour, and glory, and power unto Him that sitteth on the throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever!"

The other sermon from which we shall quote is

on "Life: its Shadows and its Substance," the text being—"The time is short; it remaineth that both they that have wives be as though they had none, and they that buy as though they possessed not," &c. :—

"Is this the instruction of God's word? Has God established the physical globe, with its vast economy, and planted us in the middle of it, educating us by its laws, only that we might not recognise them? Has he established the household, the sweet relations of neighbourhood, the complex structure of society, only that men might be obliged to deny their sense, and call them grand and glittering negations? Surely no! If any one from this exhortation is tempted to such an interpretation, he doubtless misconceives, not the meaning of this passage alone, but the whole Bible teaching; for if there be one thing plainer than another in Scripture it is the solemnity and value which it throws upon common life and the common things in life. No other book is more intensely realistic than the Word of God. It teaches us to honour life, men, society, occupation, and the homely virtues which have their sphere in secular duties; and surely it cannot be so inconsistent with itself as then to undervalue all these things. Let us therefore look around and recall some of the experiences of our lives, to see whether we may not find a clue to this remarkable passage.

When, on some summer afternoon, like the glorious, golden, hazy yesterday, parents sit, the labour of the day mostly past, and listen to the sports of their children that are playing beneath the window, and see their houses made of lines scratched upon the ground, and hear them talk of their mimic supper, in which both the dishes and the food are imaginary, and perceive their wild realisation of the game at which they play, do they not feel that to the child, as a child, and measured by its then capacities, there is both value and importance in these things? And would they, by a word, disown the child's sports, or break their charm, or teach the child that they are but a fantasy and folly? And yet, when the parents consider the after-life of the child, which they understand, though the child does not, do they not smile at his dreamland? It is to the parents as if it were not. It is so, not by taking anything away from it, but simply by placing alongside of it the same essential qualities in a higher sphere, in larger proportions, in a more glorified estate. And when these very children grow up, and come to remember their childish joys, they do not pour contempt upon them, nor in anywise diminish what was in them. They recognise that there was to them value and joy in these things: yet they feel that, when compared with the larger experience into which they have entered, that early joy was shadowy and unsubstantial. In like manner, it is in the power of the ripened mind to take one look further forward toward a coming state whose glory and perfectness shall cast all present realisations, not into contempt, but into such relative inferiority that they shall seem to be but shadows, while the invisible and the future shall seem to be the real. . . . It is, then, no part of the errand of the text to teach you to undervalue the present relations of life, nor to study those morbid aspects of its ignorance, its imperfections, or its sins, which lie so heavy on it. It is, on the contrary, to tell you that the experiences and joys of life are blessed realities—more blessed than you think. It comes not to tell you that friendship is not friendship, but to say to you, 'Friendship is so really friendship that you do not begin to know it from what you have experienced of it.' It says to the father and mother, not that the love which they bear to their children is no love, or worthless love, but that it is a love of which their experience is so minute that, when they come to see that that is the feeling with which God, in the amplitude of His infinite being, looks as a father upon human weakness, the affection which they bear to their children will, in this larger interpretation, seem as a shadow. It is to say to affianced hearts, not that the love which draws them together is a passion that burns for an hour and then goes into ashes; but to husband and wife, lover and friend, it says, 'Love on: love is truer than men would make you think; it is richer; it is more potent. Your own experience of it does not tell you what it is, nor what it is to be. There is more to come. There will be an education and disclosure which will make that which men teach you to undervalue seem so divine and so omnipotent for joy that you will think the most ecstatic moods in this world are as if you loved not.' This is a different process from undervaluing. It is to teach men the intense potency of things, to teach them to take all these elements of human experience as so many symbols, hints, and prophecies, out of which is to grow, by-and-bye, a fulfilment so much larger than is implied by the words of prediction that no man can at present determine what is the fulness of it."

There are forty-six sermons in this volume, and the extracts which we have given are a fair sample of the whole. We might have selected others for the purpose of exhibiting Mr. Beecher's mode of dealing with subjects involving what are called, by way of distinction, doctrinal points, such as those on "The Intercession of Christ," and "Christ and Him Crucified," but we have not done so, for the very excellent reason that Mr. Beecher preaches no new gospel; although, as we again refer to those discourses, we are tempted to call a sentence from almost every page. But our space will not permit; we can only add that every sermon in the volume will furnish the Christian reader with matter for thoughtful, prayerful study.

BRIEF NOTICES.

Sermons for the Times. By the Rev. ARTHUR WOLFE, M.A., Rector of Fornham All Saints. (Longmans.) We confess we did not take up Mr. Wolfe's volume with very lively expectations. The level waste of sermon matter a reviewer has now and then to bridge over does not encourage hope, any more than the news a traveller receives sometimes in rural regions that he is further from his destination now than when he last made inquiry. But we confess we were pleasantly

relieved by Mr. Wolfe's volume. It is simply written, candid, and thoughtful, and has a strong vein of commanding good sense, issuing in firm hold of the truth, yet tolerant apprehension of it from several sides. And his volume has got no catch title. These sermons are *really* sermons for the times—not only because of the topics treated, but because of the spirit which obtains from first to last. There is the single eye for truth, regardless of what party deliverances may be; for we fear Mr. Wolfe's firmness will offend Broad Churchmen as much as his liberality will be disallowed of extreme Evangelicals, and his truly catholic spirit assailed by pseudo-Catholics. His charges are mainly directed against the High-Church tendencies of the time. Mr. Wolfe does not go in for the exclusive and Episcopalian idea of the Church. He has no sympathy whatever with Sacerdotalism and Sacramentarianism, or their correlated doctrines. He believes in a unity that comprehends all that is true and spiritual in the Christian Churches:—

"Wherever," he says, "there is one common purpose there is unity; the highest form is that which exists among truly Christian people. A picture, a building, a machine, have each a sort of unity. The various kinds of vegetation and animal life display a higher still. In these latter, it is the living principle which gives unity; take away life and the various elements which have been hitherto held together drop asunder, and the unity is lost. . . . When the spirit of the world gained the upper hand among Christians, this unity of the spirit was lost, and then the Church turned to uniformity. Uniformity, however, does but hide disagreement. We may have the same form of government, the same Liturgy, the same ceremonial, the same Creed, and yet not be really one. On the other hand, we may have difference in all these, and yet retain the unity of the spirit. Uniformity and unity have no necessary connection with each other."

He dwells on the difficulty which Episcopilians have of getting their theory of bishop supported from Scripture:—

"That any apostle ever was bishop in the modern sense of the word is simply incapable of proof; it will be time enough to consider the claim of bishops to be successors to the Apostles when they can say that they have seen the Lord, and when they can give evidence of their possession of miraculous powers."

"In apostolic times there were clearly, according to Scripture, two 'orders' only:—*elders* attending to things more purely spiritual, teaching, guiding, ruling; *deacons* acting under these elders, distributing the aims of the brethren to the poorer members, dispensing the elements in the Lord's Supper to those present and carrying them to the absent sick. Contrast with this the state of things which exists among ourselves, and you will be able to judge how far the two are really one and the same, and how far we have gained or lost by the change. . . . Is not the true remedy [to many of our evils] to be found in a full return to primitive arrangement, so that bishops and those committed to their oversight might be more personally known to each other."

The practical result of a solid sermon on Confession is that "Confession to God is the chief thing, and that 'where that is, confession to man, so far as it is necessary, will be sure to follow.'" As to absolution, we are to remember that all Christians are called to be priests, though all may not exercise the office in the same way. "In that state of life in which God has 'placed each, it is given to all to take part in the great 'work of remitting and retaining sins. To warn those 'going astray, to comfort the penitent, to refuse intercourse with those who will not hear the word of warning—these are things which all may do as opportunity arises." Speaking of baptism, Mr. Wolfe says:—

"And as there was an idolatry of men [among the early Christians] so there sprang up an idolatry of things—a superstitious veneration of objects which God had used or appointed, but which were not in themselves holy. Take, for instance, the sacrament of baptism. Nothing could have been more appropriate as a token of admission to Christ's Church than a rite which at once declared man's natural uncleanness and God's will through the Gospel to remove that uncleanness. But how different when baptism came to be considered as a kind of charm effecting that regeneration which it declared, and so drawing away men's minds from that sanctification of body, soul, and spirit, which was still to be sought."

The sermons on Mediation, Mariolatry, and Infallibility, deal with those topics in the same straightforward earnest manner. The discourse on the Athanasian creed is compact and moderate, couched with spiritual insight. But this on Election, which occurs in the sermon "Speculation and Duty," is so characteristic of the writer that it may be quoted:—

"Those whom God chooses He chooses not simply that they may themselves be saved, but that they may be joined with Christ in giving salvation to the world. Those of us who truly belong to Christ's Church are no longer spiritually blind; we have had our eyes opened to know the value of our souls, and to see the folly of seeking earthly rather than heavenly treasure. Shall we not seek to imitate Christ, opening the eyes, as God gives us grace, of those spiritually blind, teaching them by word and by example, the blessedness of walking in the light? We can take part in this work if only we will."

It is encouraging to receive from a minister of the Church of England such a volume, and it is refreshing to read it. Spiritual, sensible, and vigorous, it makes us wish that more clergymen were of the same temper—the prospect of disestablishment would not then be such a source of misery; for a man like Mr. Wolfe would thereby be only a gainer.

Life Problems, Answered in Christ. Six Sermons by LEIGH MANN, with a preface by ALEXANDER MAC-

LAUREN, B. A. (London : Hodder and Stoughton. 1870.) These sermons answer to their title, and they have some further claim on our attention besides the introductory word of Mr. Maclaren. "Life Problems" are grappled with as stern realities, and in the struggle for their solution the writer betrays passion and power. Mr. Mann has evidently felt the terrors of suffering, death, law, and destiny, and, although a theologian, he abjures all that theological trifling which is found to be as cruel as it is foolish, when we are brought face to face with the inevitable. Instead of the Miracles of our Lord being regarded as incredible, and His Divinity as a delusion, the faith that Jesus is the Son of God, and that as God He suffered for us, is insisted on; and assuming that Jesus was the only begotten Son of the Father, it is argued it would be incredible if He had done no miracle. With a firm and bold hand the Godhead of "Christ is grasped : "If the sufferings of Christ do not stand in any Divine relation to humanity; if they do not reveal the heart of God to men; if they are not themselves the utterance of Divine compassion for the world—they have been overstated and exaggerated." "The sacrifice has no meaning unless God was there upon the Cross, before which the world has bowed the knee." "I know how we shrink from the declaration of this truth, because we cannot conceive of suffering in connection with absolute Being, of which we know nothing. And I do not pretend to deal with such a question. But this I know, my brethren, that the sufferings of my Redeemer are to me a surer revelation of the Eternal in this relation to my poor, dark, struggling life than even the wisest of His words and the holiest of His most Holy Teaching. No greater mystery is here than in all our mortal life. When you have looked upon the bowed head, or into the agonised countenance of your suffering fellow-men, and read in these transient signs of emotion the realities of character—courage, hope, and love—folded together for a brief space into the mysterious unity we call a man, and when the invisible has thus become incarnate in the struggles of a common human life, have you never felt that there is such a mystery in pain that the highest human character has not, and cannot reveal? It is ever so. Our suffering mortal life struggles and stammers in its utterance of the Infinite secret. But you may read it on the Cross. God is bearing human woe. He is wrestling in a mortal agony. He is putting away sin by the sacrifice of Himself. It was thus He loved the world. My brethren, do not let the puzzled intellect rob your spirit of this faith, upon which as upon bread of life, it will be nourished into power." All the six sermons are short, and you feel as you read them that they would have been longer had Mr. Mann spent upon them less time and less thought.

The Church of England and the Church of Rome. By the Rev. J. LLEWELYN DAVIES, M.A., Rector of Christ Church, St. Marylebone, London. Some prominent points of difference between the Church of England and the Church of Rome are discussed by Mr. Davies in a short course of parochial sermons. After comparing their respective positions, Mr. Davies touches upon Indulgences, the Pope's Supremacy, Infallibility, Saint Worship, the Mass, Gratuitous Good Works, and Catholicity and Nationality. While making the best of his own case, Mr. Davies does not pander to popular prejudice and bigotry, but speaks with respect and sympathy for Roman Catholics. The following extract from the sermon on Catholicity and Nationality will interest our readers :—

"The differences of opinion existing in this country, as in other countries, on religious questions, and the great deference now paid to individual opinion, make it a difficult problem of public policy to what extent and on what terms a National Church Establishment can be maintained. And it is one which is likely to press urgently for solution during the next few years. Much will depend, in the first place, of course, upon the increasing and diminishing attachment of the population to the Church now established amongst us; and, in the next place, on the strength or weakness of the feeling which I have been exhorting you to cherish. Concessions must be made to our fellow subjects who are not of the faith of the Church of England, whenever justice seems plainly to require them, I was one of those who thought, e.g., that justice forbade us to maintain an Anglican Church as the National Church of Ireland. These concessions may break some of the links which have formerly bound Church and State together in this country; and we are warned that this process will go on till there is no such thing as a national Church or National Christianity in England. But the Church may be substantially national after many such links have been broken; and, so long as there is a strong conviction in the English mind that a nation has a direct calling of God, I cannot help thinking that ways will be found to reconcile national institution which shall be, as of old, the organ of the Christian faith of the country, with the liberties and rights of its individual citizens. It is an impressive and significant fact, that, as a general rule, all the changes which would tend to make the Church of England more national would improve and strengthen the Church as a Church. That the Church should become less aristocratical, and should learn to sympathise more boldly with the elevation of the working classes; that a reasonable share in its government should be given to the people of its parishes; that any obsolete laws which fetter its action should be got rid of; that all stumbling-blocks which needlessly hinder inquiring minds from committing themselves to its service should be removed out of the way; that its complicated property interests should cease to have such a strangling effect upon its spiritual activity. These reforms are as much to be desired by those who wish the Church to be a good church, as by

those who wish it to retain its hold as a national institution.

The Commentaries of Caesar. By ANTHONY TROLLOPE. (William Blackwood and Sons : Edinburgh and London. 1870.) Those who have not received a classical education, and those whose early memories have suffered much by many years and divers occupations, will be grateful for this issue of ancient classics. Mr. Trollope here presents "Caesar's Commentaries" in an English dress. No attempt has been made at a translation. The outline of Caesar's story is told in Mr. Trollope's style, and the condensed history may now be read almost as easily and quickly as a novel. Besides winning favour with adults, these *résumés* might be used advantageously in schools. They would give a Latin or Greek class the drift of the author to be translated, and the teacher would find his boys taking a more intelligent interest in their "Homer" or "Caesar."

Praxis Primaria. By ISLAY BURNS, D.D. (London : Blackie and Son.) This introduction to Latin prose composition is intended for junior students, and progressive exercises are given with introductory notes on syntax and idiomatic differences. Dr. Burns, like Mr. Potts in his "Hints towards Latin Prose Composition," has made use of Heinichen's "Lehrbuch der Theorie des Lateinischen Stils." Those teachers who value an abundance of exercises will prefer the Scotch to the Cambridge class book.

Walter in the Woods, by the Author of "Walter at the Seaside" (Nelson and Sons), is too "priggish" for our taste. The plan of the book is this: Walter and Arthur, two cousins, spend their holiday together in the neighbourhood of the New Forest. Walter's mamma has contrived this in consequence of the great benefit which Walter derived from Arthur's companionship during a visit to the seaside (for particulars see previous volume of course). Arthur accordingly takes the stilt, and the two boys, instead of almost losing their wits as most boys would in the wild freedom of the forest, discourse amiably and philosophically about the various descriptions of trees, birds, and historical reminiscences with which the locality abounds. We have sometimes had lemon pudding in which there was so much suet that it was necessary to pick out lump after lump before the morsel became eatable. A similar process may be followed with advantage in this case. The engravings are beautiful, and the book is at once handsome and moderate in price.

Court, Official, and Personal News.

According to present arrangements, the Queen will leave Balmoral for Windsor on Friday next.

A State breakfast on an unusually grand scale will be given at Windsor by the Queen immediately on Her Majesty's return from Scotland. Marquees and tents are already being erected on the lawn in front of the east terrace. About 1,000 persons will be invited.

The story that the Prince of Wales was about to buy Tullymore House is officially contradicted. It is now reported that negotiations are going on for the hotel on Lough Erne as a summer residence for His Royal Highness.

The marriage of the Marchioness of Hastings with Sir George Chetwynd, Bart., took place on Thursday at St. James's Church, Piccadilly.

Mr. Disraeli was sufficiently recovered from his recent indisposition to be able to resume his place in the House of Commons on Thursday.

The Right Hon. Thomas O'Hagan, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, has been elevated to the peerage under the title of Baron O'Hagan. His Lordship, who is now sixty years of age, was appointed Solicitor-General for Ireland under Lord Palmerston's second Administration in 1860, and to the Attorney Generalship in 1861.

The *Observer* denies the statement that the Government does not intend to proceed with the Ballot and University Test Bills this session, and advises members who wish the success of those measures to discourage unnecessary discussion concerning the details of the Education Bill.

ELECTION INTELLIGENCE.

NORWICH.—A declaration pledging the persons signing it to support Mr. Tillett has been signed by 3,000 advanced Liberal electors. Mr. Warner will visit Norwich for the purpose of consulting with his friends as to the course to be pursued. It is doubtful whether he will go to the poll. The Conservatives have not yet got their candidate in the field.

LEICESTERSHIRE (S.).—This election also went against the Liberals on Friday. The candidates were Mr. T. T. Paget (Liberal), who formerly represented the constituency, but was ousted at the general election by Mr. Pell and Mr. Heygate (Conservative), a gentleman of some personal popularity in the county, who was once a member for the borough of Leicester. The result was as follows :—

Mr. Heygate 3,292

Mr. Paget 2,585—707

At the declaration of the poll, which took place in front of the Castle, Leicester, on Monday, Mr. Heygate, M.P., attributed the success of the Conservatives to three causes—first, the fact that the great majority of the constituency were convinced of the truth of Conservative opinions and principles;

second, to the noble voluntary exertions which had been made in his behalf in every district throughout the country; and, thirdly, to the fact that on the great question of the day—the education question—they agreed with him, and were opposed to what his opponent called an unsectarian education, but what he designated an irreligious education. Mr. Paget expressed his belief that with the ballot, the Liberal cause would secure an easy triumph in Leicestershire.

BRISTOL.—A meeting of the Liberal electors of Bristol was held on Monday in Colston's Hall, to choose a candidate. Mr. Robinson, the unseated member, who received quite an ovation, moved a resolution in favour of Mr. Kirkman Hodgson, which was carried by an overwhelming majority. Mr. Hodgson and Mr. Odger addressed the meeting. The latter refused to accept the decision of the meeting, and said he would take time to consider the course he would pursue. The *Times* says that Mr. Robinson's occupation of the seat for about forty days is supposed to have entailed upon him an expense amounting to at least 4,000/. A subscription has been opened among his political and personal friends, and there is little doubt that the greater part, if not the whole, of the costs to which he has been put will be speedily contributed.

ISLE OF WIGHT.—The election to fill the vacancy created by the decease of Sir John Simeon (Liberal) took place on Friday. The candidates were Mr. Moffat (Liberal), and Mr. B. Cochrane (Conservative). The contest was a close one, resulting in the return of the Conservative, the numbers at the close being :—

Cochrane 1,817

Moffat 1,282—35

There was some disgraceful rioting at the close of the poll at Newport and Cowes. The mob visited the committee rooms of the successful candidate, Mr. Baillie Cochrane, smashed the windows, and did other damage. At the declaration on Monday there was no disturbance. Mr. Moffat was not present. Mr. Cochrane said that his supporters had fought a good fight; they had triumphed and conquered; and now he had the honour and privilege of standing before them as the Conservative member for the county and the Isle of Wight—an event, he was told, which had not occurred for seventeen years; and the battle had been fought in such a manner that not one of his opponents was able to say a word as to the manner in which it had been conducted. It is not a little remarkable that the majority by which Sir John Simeon beat Mr. Cochrane at the last general election should have been 234, or just 200 more than Mr. Cochrane's majority in the present contest.

THE GIRLS OF THE PERIOD.

"A Weak-minded Female," writing to the *Times* against the women's franchise movement and its concomitants, draws a sad picture of the present foibles of her sex :—"Supposing a young man of quiet tastes and simple habits wishes to marry, where will he easily find a helpmeet for him? What sort of a wife is our modern fashionable damsel likely to make? She can doubtless play well on the piano, and can flirt and dance well, and can sing a little, and she, perhaps, knows several modern languages, and she reads novels, and can execute fancy work, and is, of course, mistress of the noble art of croquet; but has she any idea of the management of a household or the proper up-bringing of a family? She is so expensive, too, in her tastes, that a moderate income will not suffice for her. How many dresses and bonnets, and articles of jewellery are absolutely necessary to her existence? And she must have her carriage, and give entertainments, and go to the Continent or the sea-side every year if she lives in town; or to London in the season if she has the misfortune to be buried in the country. Is she even healthy and capable of bearing up under the troubles and worries incidental even to the most quiet life? No. I don't know whether the fact is owing to the artificial life she leads, or to the small amount of real exercise she takes—for which, I suppose, we may partly thank tight waists and tight boots, and those absurdly high heels which deform the foot and make walking a torture—but it is a fact that our fashionable young lady is not generally robust, and that too often when she has any extra demands on her strength she fails to meet them, and a doctor's bill swells the heavy list of household expenditure. What wonder, then, if our young men eschew matrimony, and seek some less costly luxury than a wife."

The letter has elicited "A Woman's Answer" from the pen of Miss Emily Faithfull, of which it may suffice to give one paragraph :—"It is natural, but somewhat provoking, to find so many assertions and so little argument; but then, I presume, your correspondent desired to write in accordance with her signature. In answer to one accusation, I, for one, while forced to admit that I advocate female suffrage, utterly repudiate any sympathy with those who are discontented with 'home duties,' and I appeal in support of this statement to the *Victoria Magazine*. For twelve years I have tried to help women in the very way that your correspondent suggests, and the result is that, whereas I was once as indifferent as she appears to be to the franchise, I have ended by thinking it of great importance both from an educational and industrial point of view."

Miscellaneous.

A NEW QUESTION IN ELECTION LAW.—THE TEST BALLOT.—The question whether bribery and treating at the Bristol test ballot invalidated the return of Mr. E. S. Robinson for that city was argued in the Court of Common Pleas on Thursday. It may be remembered that on the occasion of the preliminary ballot two agents of Mr. Robinson gave trifling sums to induce persons then to vote for him, and one agent supplied drink to some electors for the same purpose. Counsel for the petitioners contended that these acts, if performed to induce persons to vote at the regular election, were corrupt practices within the meaning of the Act. It was maintained on the other side that the gifts were made with reference to the test ballot only, when no Conservative candidate was in the field, and that there was no bargain, expressed or implied, as to the votes at the election. The court held that the cases constituted bribery and treating, and declared the election void.

THE IRISH FEDERAL PARLIAMENT MOVEMENT.—The Dublin correspondent of the *Times* states that the movement in favour of a federal Parliament for Ireland is proceeding quietly, but earnestly. On Thursday evening a meeting was held at which the Rev. Professor Galbraith, F.T.C.D., presided, and speeches were delivered by persons representing different political sections. The Conservative and "National" elements were in greatest force, but there was a sprinkling of the old repealers, who attended to watch the course of this movement, but they have not as yet identified themselves with it. Some of the speakers attempted to advocate an extreme policy, but they were silenced by the meeting, and in one or two instances left in disappointment. Another meeting will be held on Thursday evening next, and no efforts will be spared to make the agitation real and urgent. The word "repeal" is for the present at least repudiated, lest it should frighten the timid, and the programme is strictly limited to an Irish Parliament for local purposes, as well as Imperial representation.

Lord Derby at Merchant Taylors' Hall.—The annual speech-day at the Merchant Taylors' School was held on Saturday, three of the pupils having been elected to fellowships of St. John's College, Oxford. In the evening the annual banquet took place in the hall of the company. Lord Cairns, Sir Roderick I. Murchison, Bart., K.C.B., and Sir George Pollock, who had been elected honorary members of the company, were among the guests. Mr. Edward Masterman, the master of the company, presided. At the conclusion of the banquet, and after the usual loyal toasts had been disposed of, the chairman proposed the health of Lord Cairns, Sir R. Murchison, Sir George Pollock, and other honorary members of the company. In responding to the toast of "The House of Lords and Commons," Lord Derby said that their lordships had not been exceedingly active during the present session. That, however, was rather their misfortune than their fault—if it was a misfortune. After all, to do nothing was better than to do mischief. (Loud cheers.) A large part of the duty of their lordships, taking things as they found them in the present day, consisted not so much in positive action as in preventing injurious action on the part of others. (Hear, hear.) The Irish Land Bill would come before the House of Lords in a few days, when it would be their duty to accept what they could, and to resist only what they must. They would endeavour to deal to the best of their ability with the problem of Irish discontent. (Cheers.) Sir John Pakington responded on behalf of the House of Commons, and expressed a hope that the Education Bill of the Government would become law during the present session. ("Hear," and cheers.)

MOTHERS, BABIES, AND LAWYERS.—The Edinburgh *Daily Review* notices a case, argued in the Court of Session, raising the curious question, Has a mother any interest in her own child? A Scotch gentleman, of family and position, and of considerable literary attainments, had long tormented his wife by habits of ungovernable passion. At last, when he had passed from unmeasured words to blows, the thing became unendurable, and the lady brought an action in the court, asking for separation from Mr. —, and for an allowance by way of alimony. The four judges of the First Division, before whom the case was tried, were unanimous in holding that the wife was entitled to her remedy, that she was not bound to remain with him, and indeed was not safe to do so. But now arose a question. The family consisted of four or five children, of various ages, but the youngest a child of four years old. The mother confined herself to earnestly asking that when separated by the Court, she might be allowed to take her infant with her. And this very modest request she made on the ground that the court had been specially empowered to deal with such matters by a clause in the recent Conjugial Rights Act, which provides that "in any action for separation the court may in the final decree make such provision as to it shall seem just and proper with respect to the custody, maintenance, and education of any pupil children." But all was in vain. The court refused her petition. The ground on which the judges justified this startling result was that the clause above quoted from a recent statute was not intended to give the court more liberty than it had before; or at least, that though it left the matter to their discretion, that discretion was not now to be exercised on any other principles than the Scotch Court has always been accustomed to use. And the principle of the Scotch law (and of England too) has always

been, that during the husband's life he and he alone has the custody of the children.

Dr. Livingstone.—At the final fortnightly meeting of the session 1869-70 of the Royal Geographical Society, on Monday, Sir R. Murchison referred to the present position of Dr. Livingstone, and the succour which is to be sent to him. He said: There have been great misapprehensions about this affair, and I have received numerous applications from active young men anxious to go in search of Dr. Livingstone, supposing that there was a real expedition about to start from this country or elsewhere. There is no such expedition even in imagination, and certainly none in reality, contemplated in any way. Dr. Livingstone has been more than three years and a half in the heart of Africa, without a single European attendant. I am not sure that the sight of a young gentleman sent out from England, who was not acclimated, would not produce a very bad effect instead of a good one upon my friend the doctor, because he would have to take care of the new arrival, who would very soon die there, and the poor doctor would have an additional load. I have, therefore, to announce that there is no such intention whatever. I have received a dozen letters from admirable young volunteers, who are anxious to distinguish themselves, but who have not the least idea of what they are about. I have every reason to believe that the 1,000*l.* that the Government have given will go out by the Consul at Zanzibar, who happens, accidentally, to be in this country, and who is going out immediately. He will instruct Dr. Kirk, the Vice-Consul, to refit the same expedition which was started before, but which was impeded by an attack of cholera. The cholera has passed away entirely, the country is free from Zanzibar, and the only difficulty now is to get to Ujiji, where my dear and valued friend was, and still is, for he cannot move forwards or backwards without carriers, supplies, and so forth. It will take two months or more for those supplies to go from the seaboard to Ujiji, therefore you must put aside all anxiety for some months to come. I hope in about seven or eight months hence you will hear good news, and that very soon after that we shall see our friend again in his native country.

THE HOUSELESS POOR IN LONDON.—On Wednesday afternoon a conference on the best mode of dealing with the houseless poor, and especially in reference to nightly refuges and casual wards, was held at the Chambers of the Charitable Relief Society, Buckingham-street, Strand, London. The Earl of Lichfield presided, and there were present, among others, the Marquis of Westminster, Lord Elliot, and Sir C. E. Trevelyan, Bart. Sir C. E. Trevelyan compared the accommodation given in nightly refuges with that given in casual wards under the provisions of the Houseless Poor Acts. In London many alterations had been made in the management of the refuges in consequence of the recent legislation, but still there were two very large ones in London, one of which made up 600 beds every night, and had even given new pledges of permanent existence. The committee of the great refuge in the City were even proposing to establish branches of every class and description in every direction. If the system was a good one, of course it was only right that it should be extended; but if it was not a good system, but an obsolete system, then it would be only right that some strong and determined action should be taken upon it. Mr. Goschen, the President of the Poor-law Board, had declared in a recent speech that his machinery was not powerful enough to put down vagrancy, but he admitted that there was one thing which could put it down, namely, well-directed public opinion, and that was what he (Sir C. Trevelyan) hoped would be expressed in reference to the matter now under the consideration of the conference. In the large refuges with which many of them were familiar, discrimination in the case of applicants was impossible, and there must be a constant evasion of the rules. Idle people would assemble to pass their night there, only to concoct their schemes of plunder for the next day. Assuming that the case had been made out against the present institutions, they would all be agreed that, instead of relieving distress, they should endeavour to put a stop to it; that instead of growing up a continual crop of misery and vice, they should attempt to operate upon its production. Industrial schools, reformatories, penitentiaries, homes, houses of charity—all these had been to a great extent the fruit of legislation, and of active public enterprise during the last few years. In all these cases persons were taken in and had afforded to them the blessed opportunity of getting a fresh start in life. The hon. Baronet concluded by moving the following resolution:—

That the primary object of the nightly refuges—namely, giving shelter and food to houseless persons—having been provided for by the arrangements made under the Houseless Poor Act, it is desirable to give a preventive or remedial character to these institutions, conforming them to the principle of industrial schools, penitentiaries, or homes of the character of the House of Charity (Soho), the Dudley Stuart House of Refuge, in which persons overtaken by misfortune may obtain temporary asylum preparatory to their return to useful and respectable positions in life.

Several other gentlemen having spoken, the resolution was agreed to, as was also the following:—

That a committee be appointed to draw up a report in accordance with the first resolution, to be submitted to the committee of the various night refuges, and also to consider what improvements, if any, are required in the casual wards, with a view to memorialising the Poor-law Board.

CANCER HOSPITAL, BROMPTON.—The nineteenth annual general meeting of this excellent charity was held on Friday, 27th ult. The steady advance in utility, in cures, and in the alleviation of the direful malady to which it is specially devoted,

places the Cancer Hospital high on the list of charities with which our great city is adorned. The chair upon this occasion was occupied by Geo. T. Hertalet, Esq., the Treasurer, and among those present were Joseph Hannah, Esq., David Mocatta, Esq., Edmd. Halswell, Esq., Benj. Head, Esq., James Bowyer, Esq., Rev. J. B. Owen, H. E. Pellew, Esq., W. Cooke, Esq., Dr. Marsden, and other friends and subscribers to the charity. The report speaks of a gratifying progress in the relief afforded by the hospital, and of the constantly increasing number of applicants suffering from this terrible disease. During the past year 236 patients were received, of whom 44 were treated by operation and discharged, so far as the results of the treatment were concerned, well. Of the remainder 71 were discharged either cured or greatly relieved, 49 left helpless and incurable, 36 died, and 36 on the last day of the year remained under treatment. The out-patients at present amount to 380, some of whom have been attendants for years, thus proving that cancer is not necessarily so virulent as it is represented. Successful results have been obtained by the use of caustics combined with constitutional remedies. Since the foundation of the hospital in 1851, no less than 8,546 patients have been treated. The receipts for 1869, including a balance of 1,798*l.*, were 12,246*l.*, and the expenditure 10,370*l.* The funded property in consols is 9,000*l.*

Gleanings.

The Bishop of Peterborough has been presented with a pastoral staff by the laity of his diocese.

It is stated that the cost of the new Roman Catholic chapel which the Duke of Norfolk is erecting at Arundel will be about 50,000*l.*

Five hundred and fifty men, women, and children, assisted by the British and Colonial Emigration Fund, left the Thames on Saturday for Canada.

Waterloo Bridge produces to its shareholders (after paying expenses) about 12,000*l.* a year, being less than one per cent. on the capital expended.

Owing to recent events, the authorities at Oxford have put their veto on theatrical entertainments at the Commemoration.

There is a ladies' newspaper in India, the *Bungo Mohila*, or *Woman of Bengal*, published at Calcutta in Bengali, and edited by a Hindoo lady.

"Parties about to furnish" will be glad to learn, on the authority of the Birmingham commercial reports, that a general reduction has taken place in the price of carpets. Brussels carpets are 4*d.* per yard lower, and in less costly fabrics the reduction is still greater.

A country laird, who had lately been elevated to the office of a county magistrate, meeting the Rev. Mr. Thom, of Govan, on horseback, attempted jocularity by remarking that he was more ambitious than his Master, who was content to ride upon an ass. "They cannae be gottin' noo," said Mr. Thom, "for they're a' made Justices o' the Peace."

A MODERN KNIGHT-ERRANT.—A man clad in a coat of mail, highly polished, is travelling on horseback about Scotland. His object in going in this guise is neither Quixotic nor warlike. He is travelling to advertise the excellence of the black lead with which his coat of mail is polished.

NEAR THE TRUTH.—The *Charivari* publishes a Plebsiticary caricature which has a certain *actualité*. A peasant sitting in his hovel, dressed in his night-cap, round frock, and wooden shoes, receives a visit, apparently unexpected, from a tax-gatherer. "What?" says he, "more taxes—don't you know that I voted 'Yes'?"

CAUSE OF ABSENCE.—When the late Lord Campbell married Miss Scarlett, and departed on his wedding trip, Mr. Justice Abbott observed, when a certain case was called on, "I thought, Mr. Brougham, that Mr. Campbell was in this case?" "Yes, my lord," replied Brougham; "but I understand he is ill, suffering from Scarlett fever."

THE WINE OF PURGATORY.—In a village in the neighbourhood of Paris, a working man went to pay a visit to the priest, whom he found at breakfast. "Ah! is that you, John," said the Abbé B. "What do you want?" "A mass for my uncle, whose soul, it appears, is still in Purgatory. How much will it cost me?" "For you, my friend, twenty sous." "Here they are, sir"; and the peasant went and laid them on the mantelpiece. "You'll take a glass of wine, John, before you go?" And the priest, suiting the action to the word, poured out a large tumbler full of wine, which he gave his visitor. "Here's your health, my friend! It is the wine of Purgatory." John swallowed the wine, which he must have found very good, for, after putting down his glass and pausing for an instant, he walked up to the chimney-piece, and taking up the twenty sous, put them back into his pocket. "What are you doing?" said the Abbé B. "Mr. Priest," replied John, "I think that if those who are in Purgatory have such good wine to drink as that which you have just given me, there's no need of saying masses for them."—*Press*.

LONDON DUST.—Do Londoners ever seriously consider what they pay for the doubtful luxury of unnecessary dust? Whatever we may think of Professor Tyndall's theories, we must all accept his fact that the air is full of filth. Healthy adults, for aught we know, may breathe it with impunity, and asthmatics may even like it better than a pure atmosphere; but for the children and the ailing, what can be worse? And besides its immediate action on our bodies, who does not know its penetrating and destructive powers—the fatal facility with which it is carried through the merest crack,

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The TWENTIETH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING will be held at the COLLEGE, FINCHLEY NEW-ROAD, St. JOHN'S WOOD, on FRIDAY EVENING, June 24. The Chair will be taken at Six o'clock by the Rev. J. C. HARRISON, Chairman of the Congregational Union. One of the Senior Students will read an Essay on "Whitfield and Wesley." The usual business of the Annual Meeting will be transacted, together with the Distribution of the Certificates of Honour obtained in the Examinations, and the Presentation of Books from the Sir W. Fund to Students leaving the College. Several Ministers and Gentlemen are expected to address the Meeting. The attendance of Subscribers and Friends of the College is respectfully invited.

W. FABRER, LL.B., Secretary.

ROYAL POLYTECHNIC.—SAND and the SUEZ CANAL, by Professor Pepper. Musical Entertainment, by George Buckland, Esq., THE HEART OF STONE; with Spectral Scenes. The American Organ daily. And other attractions, all for One Shilling. THE GREAT CITY, at half-past One. SUEZ CANAL, at half-past Two and quarter to Eight. HEART OF STONE, at Four and Nine. Open 12 to 8 and 7 to 10.

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Mrs. Morley will be in London and other parts of England during the month of July.

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